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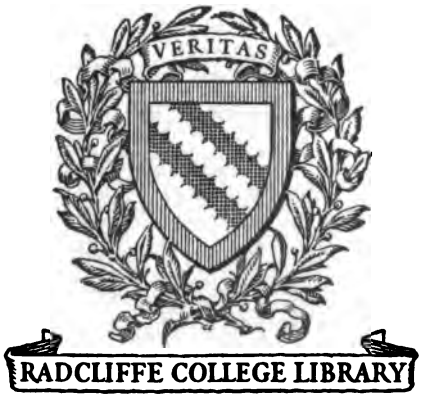
WOMAN'S
RIGHTS
COLLECTION



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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE YEAR BOOK

1917

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE YEAR BOOK

1917

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VOTES FOR WOMEN A SUCCESS

NORTH AMERICA PROVES IT

White—Full Suffrage.
Gray—Partial Suffrage.
Dotted—Presidential Suffrage.
Black—No Suffrage.

The black States of this country now find their only parallel in Central America, Newfoundland and the uninhabited Northwest Territory where there is no form of suffrage, even for men.

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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE YEAR BOOK

1917

Oklahoma (full suffrage)
N. Dakota Pres. "
So. " full "
Nebraska Pres. "
Minnesota " "
Missouri " "
Arkansas Primary "
Wisconsin Prim. "
Illinois Pres. & municipal
Indiana Pres. only
Michigan full
New York full.
Vermont Pres. & municipal
Maine full suffrage.
Rhode Island Pres. "

EDITED BY
MARTHA G. STAPLER

Articles Upon Special Subjects
Contributed By
MARY SUMNER BOYD
Secretary of the Data Department—National American Woman Suffrage Association

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
171 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y.

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PRINTED JANUARY, 1917

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1917

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FOREWORD

In publishing the Woman Suffrage Year Book for 1917, which the editor, Miss Martha Stapler, has compiled with great care, the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., believes that it is placing in the hands of suffrage workers and others an accurate, up-to-date reference book which has long been needed.

It is planned to issue the Year Book in January of each year with a calendar of events of the preceding year and with statistical information brought up to date. For a compilation of this kind a mass of material is available so that the task has been largely one of selection. Both editor and publishers are conscious of many omissions but it has been necessary to continually bear in mind that if the book is to serve its purpose it must be limited in bulk and moderate in price. The selection of material for this year's issue has been in the nature of an experiment, but it is hoped that constructive criticism and suggestions will be forthcoming so that the value of the book will be enhanced with every new edition. The present volume is offered in the confident hope that it will justify itself and lead the way for an annual publication that will eventually satisfy the need for a comprehensive record of the woman suffrage movement.

THE PUBLISHERS

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PREFACE

A few years ago public interest was directed toward Woman Suffrage as an issue in but a limited number of States. To-day public interest is directed toward it as an approaching issue throughout the United States. Hence to a greater extent than ever before information is required upon the various phases of the Suffrage Movement, and upon the many subjects connected with it.

Certain of the information required proves not easily accessible because scattered throughout a number of publications. In compiling the Woman Suffrage Year Book the aim has been to collect, from different sources, facts chiefly of current and statistical nature, and to arrange them for easy reference under one cover.

The first part of the book deals with the progress, extent and results of Woman Suffrage; the second part deals with the action which various States have taken upon certain questions affecting women and children; the third part deals with miscellaneous information for the general use of suffrage workers and others. As far as possible each Division is devoted to subjects of like character.

Especial attention is called to the Tables, contained in the Second Division, which show how widespread has been the demand for Woman Suffrage throughout the United States.

I wish to extend my thanks to the National American Woman Suffrage Association for the privilege of referring to the Data Department for certain material, and to the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company for permission to reprint from some of their publications.

I also wish to extend my thanks to Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd for contributing to the Year Book several valuable charts and articles.

THE EDITOR.

January, 1917.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

RECORD OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE EVENTS, 1916 11–13

DIVISION I

THE EXTENT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN PRACTICE 14–24

States and Countries with Full or Partial Suffrage (Tables)—Twenty Facts About Woman Suffrage—The Number of Presidential Electors, United States Senators and Representatives Elected from Equal Suffrage States—Gains in Equal Suffrage (Table).

DIVISION II

THE PROGRESS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES 25–44

Early Progress—Woman Suffrage by State Action—The Progress of Woman Suffrage Measures in State Legislatures—Woman Suffrage from 1869–1916.

DIVISION III

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN CONGRESS 45–58

History of the Progress of the Federal Suffrage Amendment (Table)—Woman Suffrage in the Sixty-Third Congress—Woman Suffrage in the Sixty-Fourth Congress.

DIVISION IV

ACTION UPON WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN STATE LEGISLATURES DURING 1916.—PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE—CHART SHOWING REQUIREMENTS FOR THE ADOPTION OF STATE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN NON-SUFFRAGE STATES . 59–69

DIVISION V

LIST OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES 70–73

DIVISION VI

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE 74–79

Officers—List of Affiliated Associations—Constitution—Resolutions Defining Policy—Declaration of Principles.

DIVISION VII

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION 80–92

Officers—Constitution—Platform of Work Adopted by the Convention, 1916—Platform of Principles—Report Upon Woman Suffrage in the Sixty-Fourth Congress (A list of the Affiliated Associations is Contained in Division V).

DIVISION VIII

ELECTION RETURNS UPON WOMAN SUFFRAGE 93–104

State Table—Election Returns by Counties Upon Suffrage Amendments—Submitted (1915) in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. (Greater New York—Returns by Boroughs)—Election Returns by Counties (1916) in Iowa. (Vote on Suffrage, 1915, compared with vote at Presidential Election, 1912.)

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DIVISION IX

THE EFFECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE UPON LEGISLATION IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES 105–110

DIVISION X

SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE 111–119

List of Associations in Favor—Suffrage Planks in Party Platforms—Opinions in Favor.

DIVISION XI

THE NUMBER OF WOMEN VOTERS AT VARIOUS ELECTIONS 120–125

DIVISION XII

ANSWERS TO SOME OBJECTIONS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE 126–131

General Objections (The Cost of Elections—Women and Jury Service—The Poll Tax). By Mary Sumner Boyd.

DIVISION XIII

CERTAIN LAWS AFFECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN 132–149

State Chart—Guardianship Laws in Practice. By Mary Sumner Boyd—The Federal Child Labor Law—The Number of Children Employed in Each State (Table)—Digest of the Mothers' Pension Laws in Twenty-Nine States.

DIVISION XIV

INFORMATION FOR SUFFRAGE WORKERS UPON THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN (Tables) 150–162

DIVISION XV

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY LAWS. By Mary Sumner Boyd—THE WOMAN EDUCATOR AND THE VOTE. By Mary Sumner Boyd 163–167

DIVISION XVI

PERSONS EXCLUDED FROM SUFFRAGE IN EACH STATE (Table)—MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES (Chart). Compiled by Mary Sumner Boyd 168–175

DIVISION XVII

INFORMATION FOR SUFFRAGE WORKERS UPON THE CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION IN EACH STATE 176–180

(Census Statistics)—Population of Voting Age (Tables)—White and Negro Population Compared in Certain States (Table)—School Attendance of Boys and Girls Compared (Table)—Male Illiterates of Voting Age (Table).

DIVISION XVIII

INFORMATION FOR SUFFRAGE WORKERS—HOW TO ORGANIZE 181–188

DIVISION XIX

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION FOR SUFFRAGE WORKERS (REFERENCE TABLES) 189–192

DIVISION XX

LIST OF SUFFRAGE PUBLICATIONS—BIBLIOGRAPHY. 193–204

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RECORD OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE EVENTS

1916

January 8 — The Federal Suffrage Amendment was favorably reported to the United States Senate by the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

January 20 — The South Carolina House failed to pass a Suffrage Amendment by a vote of 61 to 51.

January 27 — The Legislature of Manitoba, Canada, by a unanimous vote, passed a bill giving the women of the province Full Suffrage.

February 12 — The Oklahoma House, by a vote of 62 to 15, adopted a resolution for the submission of a Suffrage Amendment to the voters.

February 15 — The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, by a vote of 9 to 7, postponed action upon the Federal Suffrage Amendment until December 14.

February 18 — The Virginia House of Delegates voted 51 to 40 against submitting a Suffrage Amendment to the voters.

February 22 — The Maryland Senate passed a resolution to submit a Suffrage Amendment to the voters.

March 8 — The Kentucky Senate passed a Suffrage Amendment by a vote of 26 to 8.

March 10 — The Kentucky House failed to pass a Suffrage Amendment by a vote of 46 to 45.

March 14 — The New York Assembly, by a vote of 109 to 30, passed a resolution providing for the submission of a Suffrage Amendment to the voters.

March 18 — The two largest German Suffrage Societies "Deutscher Verband für Frauenstimmrecht" and Deutsche Vereinigung für Frauenstimmrecht" united under the title of "Deutscher Reichsverband für Frauenstimmrecht."

March — — The Legislature of Alberta, Canada, passed a bill giving the women of the province Full Suffrage.

March 28 — The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, by a vote of 10 to 9, postponed indefinitely consideration of all Constitutional Amendments.

March — — The women of the Province of Saskatchewan, Canada, were granted Full Suffrage.

April 8 — The Norwegian Parliament agreed to an amendment of the law enabling women to be appointed members of the Norwegian Council of State. The vote on the measure was 91 to 14. The women of Norway were given Full Suffrage in 1914, and were eligible to all offices except to become members of the Council of State.

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April 10 — The New York Senate, by a vote of 33 to 10, passed a resolution providing for the submission of a Suffrage Amendment. The Amendment must pass both branches of the 1917 Legislature before it can be submitted to the voters.

April 20 — L'Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes at its annual congress meeting in Paris, adopted the following resolution:

"That the women of the belligerent countries who have suffered so much by the war, and who through long years will bear the consequences of it, petition their respective governments that they should take part in the diplomatic conferences which will take place with a view to the re-establishment of peace, and that they should be represented by one or two women. They demand it as much in reparation of the past, which has kept them in subordination, as a pledge of freedom in the future. Above all, they demand it to prevent the return of such conflagrations."

L'Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes is an affiliated member of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

May 7–10 — The Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference, Minneapolis.

May 23 — The Methodist Episcopal Church, at its annual conference, passed a resolution in favor of Woman Suffrage.

June 5 — A Woman Suffrage Amendment was defeated in Iowa by popular vote.

June 5–7 — A convention of women voters assembled in Chicago and formed the National Woman's Party.

June 6 — National Woman Suffrage Assembly held in Chicago.

June 7 — National Woman Suffrage Parade was held in Chicago.

June 8 — The National Republican Convention adopted a Woman Suffrage Plank in its Party Platform.

June 14 — "Golden Lane" Suffrage Demonstration St. Louis, under the auspices of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

June 16 — The National Democratic Convention adopted a Woman Suffrage Plank in its Party Platform.

June — "A despatch this week from The Hague, by way of London, says the *Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht*, the German Woman Suffrage Organ, has sent the following greeting to the women of France:

"We feel, think and suffer like you, and swear that after this catastrophical war the women of all nations shall work unitedly to prevent forever its recurrence."

June 18 — Suffrage Demonstration held in Amsterdam, Holland.

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July 1–7 — The National Education Association, at its Convention in New York, adopted a resolution urging its members "to endeavor in every possible way to hasten the confirmation of Woman Suffrage."

July 19-21 — The Prohibition Party at its Convention in St. Paul re-adopted a Woman Suffrage Plank in its Platform.

August 1 — Charles Evans Hughes declared his personal opinion in favor of a Federal Suffrage Amendment.

August 2 — The State Democratic Convention in West Virginia (campaign State), adopted a resolution urging the voters to ratify the Woman Suffrage Amendment to be submitted in November.

August 10 — The West Virginia State Republican Convention incorporated a Suffrage Plank in its Platform.

August 10-12 — A Conference of the National Woman's Party met at Colorado Springs.

August 14 — Premier Asquith, in his speech before the House of Commons, stated that any franchise reform bill in England must include suffrage for women.

September 6-10 — The Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was held at Atlantic City, New Jersey.

The Association voted to continue its policy of working on non-partisan lines for both State and Federal action.

September 8 — President Wilson addressed the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

October — — The Province of British Columbia, Canada, gave a favorable majority on a referendum on Woman Suffrage.

November 7 — Woman Suffrage Amendments were defeated in South Dakota and West Virginia by popular vote.

November 7 — For the first time a woman was elected to the House of Representatives of the United States. Miss Jeannette Rankin was chosen Representative at large from Montana, on the Republican ticket. Her Platform was National Woman Suffrage, Child Welfare, Tariff Revision, Prohibition, and greater publicity in Congressional records.

Miss Rankin was Chairman of the Montana State Suffrage Committee during the campaign which won Equal Suffrage for Montana in 1914.

December 9 — The National American Woman Suffrage Association opened its Washington Headquarters.

December 14 — The Judiciary Committee of the United States House of Representatives reported the Federal Suffrage Amendment without recommendation.

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DIVISION I

THE EXTENT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THE EXTENT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

Full suffrage granted all women:

Wyoming	1869
Colorado	1893
Utah	1896
Idaho	1896
Washington	1910
California	1911
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Arizona	1912
Territory of Alaska	1913
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914

PARTIAL SUFFRAGE

Illinois	1913

SCHOOL SUFFRAGE

Granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions:

Kentucky	1838
Michigan	1875
Minnesota	1875
New Hampshire	1878
Massachusetts	1879
Vermont	1880
New York	1880
Mississippi	1880
Nebraska	1883
New Jersey	1887
North Dakota	1887
South Dakota	1887
Oklahoma	1890
Connecticut	1893
Ohio	1894
Delaware	1898
Wisconsin	1900
New Mexico	1910

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SUFFRAGE ON TAXATION AND BONDING PROPOSITIONS

Granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions:

Iowa	1894
Louisiana	1898
New York	1901
Michigan	1908

FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

The following tables, except where otherwise noted, are reprinted from "Where Women Vote," edited by Frances M. Björkman and Annie G. Porritt:*

In Full Suffrage States women are eligible to public office.

TERRITORY OF ALASKA

Full suffrage granted	**1913**
Population (1910) Total	**64,356**
Males over 21	**53,956**
Females over 21	**10,400**

ARIZONA

Full suffrage granted	**1912**
Population (1910) Total	**204,354**
Males over 21	**74,051**
Females over 21	**43,891**
Percentage of men to women	**168.7**
Total vote for President in 1912 (men only)	**23,987**
Total vote for Governor in 1914 (men and women)	**59,186**
Total vote for President in 1916 (men and women)	**58,021**

CALIFORNIA

Full suffrage granted	**1911**
Population (1910) Total	**2,377,549**
Males over 21	**920,397**
Females over 21	**671,386**
Percentage of men to women	**137.1**
Total vote for Governor, 1910 (men only)	**325,652**
Total vote for Governor, 1914 (men and women)	**1,004,902**
Total vote for President, 1912	**776,094**
Total vote for President, 1916	**999,603**

COLORADO

Full suffrage granted	**1893**
Population (1910) Total	**799,024**
Males over 21	**271,648**
Females over 21	**213,425**
Percentage of men to women	**127.3**
Total vote for President in 1892 (men only)	**93,843**
Total vote for President in 1896 (men and women)	**189,141**
Total vote for President in 1912	**288,827**
Total vote for President in 1916	**294,375**

* Included in "History Arguments and Results," published by National Woman Suffrage Pub. Co.

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IDAHO

Full suffrage granted	**1896**
Population (1910) Total	**325,594**
Males over 21	**110,863**
Females over 21	**69,818**
Percentage of men to women	**158.8**
Total vote for Governor in 1914	**117,276**
Total vote for President in 1912	**105,755**
Total vote for President in 1916	**134,615**

In 1892, 16,409 men voted in Idaho. At the next Presidential election, 1900, the population had increased 72 per cent., so about 29,000 men could be expected to vote. As a matter of fact, 57,900 voters turned out, so that almost 50 per cent. of the vote can be credited to women.*

ILLINOIS (Partial Suffrage)

Presidential and Municipal suffrage granted to women	**1913**
Population (1910) Total	**5,638,591**
Males over 21	**1,743,182**
Females over 21	**1,567,491**
Percentage of men to women	**111.2**
Total vote for President in 1912	**1,247,247**
Total vote for President in 1916 (men and women)	**2,189,349**

The Constitution of Illinois provides that the Legislature shall have power to confer the suffrage for any official whose election is not provided for in the Constitution. Under this provision the Legislature passed a law in 1913 which gives women the right to vote as follows: For Presidential Electors; State Board of Equalization (taxes); Clerk of Appellate Court; County Collector; County Surveyor; Board of Assessors; Sanitary District Trustees; and for city, town and village officers, except Police Magistrates. They may also vote upon propositions, except as otherwise provided in the Constitution. (*Editor's note.*)

KANSAS

Municipal suffrage granted	**1887**
Full suffrage granted	**1912**
Population (1910) Total	**1,690,949**
Males over 21	**508,529**
Females over 21	**438,934**
Percentage of men to women	**115.9**
Total vote for President in 1912 (men)	**365,444**
Total vote for Governor in 1914 (men and women)	**689,173**
Total vote for President in 1916	**629,813**

MONTANA

Full suffrage granted	**1914**
Population (1910) Total	**376,053**
Males over 21	**155,017**
Females over 21	**81,741**
Percentage of men to women	**189.6**
Total vote for President in 1912	**79,826**
Total vote for Governor in 1914	**79,778**
Total vote for President in 1916 (men and women)	**177,679**

* Data Department, "Headquarters News Letter," May, 1916.

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NEVADA

Full suffrage granted	1914
Population (1910) Total	81,875
Males over 21	40,026
Females over 21	18,140
Percentage of men to women	220.7
Total vote for President in 1912	20,115
Total vote for Governor in 1914	20,626
Total vote for President in 1916 (men and women)	32,978

OREGON

Full suffrage granted	1912
Population (1910) Total	672,765
Males over 21	257,188
Females over 21	168,323
Percentage of men to women	152.8
Total vote for President in 1912	137,040
Total vote for Governor in 1914	248,052
Total vote for President in 1916 (men and women)	261,650

UTAH

Full suffrage granted	1896
Population (1910) Total	373,351
Males over 21	104,115
Females over 21	85,729
Percentage of men to women	121.4
Total vote for President in 1912	121,917
Total vote for President in 1916	142,762

Women have voted throughout Statehood, so it is impossible to compare the vote before and after equal suffrage. (Editor's note.)

WASHINGTON

Full suffrage granted	1910
Population (1910) Total	1,141,990
Males over 21	441,294
Females over 21	277,727
Percentage of men to women	158.9
Total vote for President in 1908 (men only)	183,630
Total vote for President in 1912 (men and women)	374,615
Total vote for President in 1916	379,459

WYOMING

Full suffrage granted	1869
Population (1910) Total	145,965
Males over 21	63,201
Females over 21	28,840
Percentage of men to women	219.1
Total vote for President in 1912	42,296
Total vote for President in 1916	51,842

Women have voted throughout Statehood, so it is impossible to compare the vote before and after equal suffrage. (Editor's note.)

Area in Square Miles of the United States	3,616,484
Area in Square Miles of the Suffrage States	1,794,569

49½% Suffrage

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THE EXTENT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

SCANDINAVIA

NORWAY

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women	1901
Full franchise granted tax-paying women	1907
Municipal franchise extended to all women	1910
Full Parliamentary franchise extended to all women	1913
Approximate number of women having the full franchise	380,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	70
Population, total	2,391,782
Men	1,155,773
Women	1,236,009

Office Holding: Women are eligible to Parliament and to all other elective offices.[1]

FINLAND

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in country districts	1863
Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in city districts	1872
Full franchise granted all women	1906
Number of women having the franchise	707,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	54 to 60
Population, total	3,059,324
Men	1,520,810
Women	1,538,514

Office Holding: Women are eligible to the Diet.[2]

ICELAND

Municipal suffrage granted tax-paying widows and spinsters	1882
Municipal suffrage extended to all women	1909
Full suffrage extended to all women	1915
Approximate number of women eligible	11,000
Estimated percentage of women eligible who vote	50 to 80
Population, total	85,188
Women	41,083
Men	44,105

Office Holding: Women are eligible to all offices.[3]

SWEDEN

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying widows and spinsters	1862
Municipal franchise granted all women on the same terms as men	1909
Approximate number of women having the municipal franchise	1,400,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	15.2 to 32.9
Population, total	5,521,939
Men	2,698,975
Women	2,822,968

Office Holding: Women are eligible to all offices for which they vote.[4]

DENMARK

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women and wives of men who pay taxes	1908
Full suffrage extended to all women	1915
Percentage of women eligible who vote	38 to 70
Population, Total	2,757,076
Men	1,337,900
Women	1,419,176

Office Holding: Women are eligible to all offices for which they vote.[5]

"Where Women Vote"—[1] p. 40—[2] p. 42—[3] p. 46—[4] p. 49—[5] p. 51.

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE

NEW ZEALAND

Municipal suffrage granted all women	1886
Full suffrage granted all women	1893
Approximate number of women eligible	300,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	74 to 85
Population, total	1,008,468
Males	531,910
Females	476,558

Office Holding: Women are eligible to all elective offices except membership in Parliament.[6]

AUSTRALIA

State suffrage granted in South Australia	1895
State suffrage granted in West Australia	1900
State suffrage granted in New South Wales	1902
State suffrage granted in Tasmania	1903
State suffrage granted in Queensland	1905
State suffrage granted in Victoria	1908
National suffrage granted throughout Federated Australia	1902
Number of women having franchise in Federated Australia	1,100,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	40 to 60
Population, total	4,455,005
Males	2,141,970
Females	2,313,035

Office Holding: Women are eligible to both the Senate and House of Representatives of the Federal Parliament. Only South Australia and Queensland have made them eligible to State Legislative bodies.[7]

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

Municipal suffrage granted to women in all four Provinces—Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony and Transvaal	1914
Women made eligible to local government bodies in Natal	1914

ENGLAND AND WALES

Municipal suffrage granted to unmarried women and widows who were householders	1869
Women made eligible to city and county councils	1907
Population (1911), total	36,075,269
Males	17,448,476
Females	18,626,793

SCOTLAND

Municipal suffrage granted women on the same terms as men	1881
Women made eligible to city and county councils	1901
Population (1911), total	4,759,445
Males	2,307,603
Females	2,451,842

IRELAND

Municipal suffrage granted women on the same terms as men	1898
Women made eligible to city and county councils	1911
Population (1911), total	4,381,951
Males	2,186,804
Females	2,195,147

ISLE OF MAN

Full Parliamentary suffrage granted to women property owners	1881
Full Parliamentary suffrage extended to women tax-payers	1892
Population (1911), total	52,034
Males	23,953
Females	28,081

"Where Women Vote"—[6] p. 53—[7] p. 58.

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DOMINION OF CANADA

Total population of Dominion, 1911	7,081,869
Number of voters at Parliamentary election, 1911	1,307,483

QUEBEC

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters	1884
Municipal suffrage extended to widows and spinsters who are householders.	1909
Population (1911), total	2,003,232
Males	1,011,502
Females	991,730

ONTARIO

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters	1884
Population (1911), total	2,523,274
Males	1,299,290
Females	1,223,984

NEW BRUNSWICK

Municipal suffrage extended to tax-paying widows and spinsters	1886
Population (1911), total	351,889
Males	179,867
Females	172,022

NOVA SCOTIA

Municipal suffrage granted to all property-owning women, except those whose husbands are voters	1886
Population (1911), total	492,338
Males	251,019
Females	241,319

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Municipal suffrage granted property-owning widows and spinsters	1888
Population (1911), total	93,728
Males	47,069
Females	46,659

MANITOBA

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters	1888
Full suffrage granted to women	1916
Population (1911), total	455,614
Males	250,056
Females	205,558

SASKATCHEWAN

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning women	1888
Full suffrage granted to women	1916
Population (1911), total	492,432
Males	291,730
Females	200,702

ALBERTA

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters	1888
Full suffrage granted to women	1916
Population (1911), total	374,663
Males	223,989
Females	150,674

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters	1888
Full suffrage granted to women	1916
Population (1911), total	392,480
Males	251,619
Females	140,861

YUCATAN (MEXICO)

Population	337,020

"According to information received in October from the president of the American Property Owners' Non-Intervention League, woman has been granted the suffrage by the Governor-General of Yucatan."

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TWENTY FACTS ABOUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE *

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

Fact No. 1.—Over three million six hundred thousand women in the United States can vote for President.

Fact No. 2.—In eleven States—Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming, Montana and Nevada—and in the territory of Alaska, women have full suffrage on exactly the same terms as men.

Fact No. 3.—Every equal suffrage State is adjacent to another equal suffrage State—that is, every State except Wyoming, which has granted votes for women, had an opportunity to know beforehand how equal suffrage worked in one or more neighboring States.

Fact No. 4.—In Illinois women can vote for Presidential electors and for all officers and on all questions not provided for in the State Constitution. In eighteen States of the United States women have school suffrage, and in four States limited suffrage on questions of taxing and bonding.

Fact No. 5.—Norway, Finland, Australia, New Zealand, Iceland and Denmark have given full suffrage to women. These are among the most progressive and enlightened countries of the world.

Fact No. 6.—In every one of the above countries the municipal suffrage was granted first and the full suffrage granted only after the smaller measure had been thoroughly tested.

Fact No. 7.—In Sweden, England and Wales, Ireland, Scotland and the provinces of Canada women have municipal franchise. Sweden is on the point of extending full suffrage to women. In 1916, four Canadian provinces, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, granted full suffrage to women.

Fact No. 8.—An amendment to the United States Constitution providing for the sweeping away of the sex barrier to suffrage all over the United States was voted on in the Senate at Washington on March 19, 1914, and in the House on January 12, 1915. It obtained a majority of one vote in the Senate, while in the House the vote stood 174 to 204.

Fact No. 9.—Over a million and a quarter votes were cast for woman suffrage in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1915. This was 190,000 more than in all previous votes on the subject.

Fact No. 10.—In no country, State or community which has granted women a measure of suffrage has it ever been voted away from them, and in most cases the original franchise right has been enlarged and extended.

HOW WOMEN VOTE

Fact No. 11.—In answer to a set of questions sent out by suffragists, one hundred and forty mayors of cities and towns in the four oldest equal suffrage States—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—and in Kansas, where women had municipal suffrage at the time, unanimously replied: first, that the women do vote in large numbers; second, that the women are public spirited and take an intelligent interest in public affairs; third, that the vote of disreputable women is a negligible factor.

Fact No. 12.—The gist of an extensive questionnaire recently sent out by the *Evening Sun* (of New York City) was "Do women who have the vote, vote? What laws have their votes passed? Is woman suffrage considered a success by the States that have it?" The *Sun* summarized the results of the investigation made by its correspondents as follows: "Women who have the vote do vote. Their ballot has already passed a considerable body of law. The suffrage States seem to be satisfied to have women go on voting." A summary of the many splendid laws for women and children directly attributed to the ballots of women was printed by the *Evening Sun*.

Fact No. 13.—The legislatures of the two oldest suffrage States—Colorado and Wyoming—have formally adopted resolutions declaring woman suffrage to be an unqualified success. The legislature of California has passed a resolution calling upon Congress to pass an amendment enfranchising all of the women of the United States.

Fact No. 14.—Both Houses of the Australian Parliament have passed resolutions declaring woman suffrage an unqualified success in that country.

Fact No. 15.—Arizona, California, Colorado and Washington are the only States in the Union which have eight-hour laws for working women.

Fact No. 16.—California, Colorado, Oregon, Washington and Kansas have commissions with power to fix a minimum wage in industry. Utah has a minimum wage law. In Idaho a commission appointed by the Legislature is framing a law. Of the other four equal suffrage States, two have practically no women employed in industry,

* Leaflet published by National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company.

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one has been an equal suffrage State only since 1912 and the other two only since November, 1914. The only non-suffrage States with minimum wage commissions are Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Arkansas.

Fact No. 17.—In all the equal suffrage States women teachers have more nearly men's rate of pay. Many have equal pay statutes and in nearly all women are as often appointed to the higher positions as men. In four the head of the public education system of the State is a woman.

Fact No. 18.—California, Kansas, Utah, Washington, Oregon, Arizona, Colorado and Idaho have passed the "Red Light Abatement and Injunction Law"—admitted by authorities to be the best law so far tried for combating commercialized vice. Only sixteen non-suffrage States have passed this law. Women voters are given the credit for the recall of Police Magistrate Weller of San Francisco because of his protection of commercialized vice interests, and also for forcing the abolition of segregated districts in Salt Lake City, Denver and other large cities of the equal suffrage States.

Fact No. 19.—In all the equal suffrage States the age of consent for girls is eighteen except in Oregon and Nevada, where it is sixteen. In five non-suffrage States the age of consent is only fourteen, and in one only ten; while only eleven non-suffrage States give effective protection to the age of eighteen.

Fact No. 20.—All the equal suffrage States (though in Arizona the law has been declared unconstitutional) have passed mothers' pension laws. California, Colorado, Idaho, Oregon, Washington and Utah have laws for the protection of children far in advance of the legislation in most of the non-suffrage States.

UNITED STATES

THE NUMBER OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS, UNITED STATES SENATORS, AND REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED FROM EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES

Women vote for President in twelve States. These States elect 91 Presidential Electors, or one-fifth of the Electoral College.

Women vote for United States Senators and Representatives in eleven States. These States elect 22 United States Senators and 40 Representatives.

The following table shows the number of Presidential Electors and United States Representatives allotted each State:

THE ELECTORAL VOTE AND CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES*

Equal Suffrage States	(The Electoral Vote of each State)	Congressional Representation (Apportionment at 1910 Census)
Arizona	3	1
California	13	11
Colorado	6	4
Idaho	4	2
Kansas	10	8
Montana	4	2
Nevada	3	1
Oregon	5	3
Utah	4	2
Washington	7	5
Wyoming	3	1
	62	40
Illinois (Electoral Vote Only)	29	..
	91	..

* The Electoral Vote and Congressional Representation of each State—pages 189–191.

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GAINS IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE

ALICE S. BLACKWELL

Time	Place	Kind of Suffrage
1838	Kentucky	School suffrage to widows with children of school age.
1850	Ontario	School suffrage, women married and single.
1861	Kansas	School suffrage.
1867	New South Wales	Municipal suffrage.
1869	England	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
	Victoria	Municipal suffrage, married and single women.
	Wyoming	Full suffrage.
1871	West Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1875	Michigan	School suffrage.
	Minnesota	School suffrage.
1876	Colorado	School suffrage.
1877	New Zealand	School suffrage.
1878	New Hampshire	School suffrage.
	Oregon	School suffrage.
1879	Massachusetts	School suffrage.
1880	New York	School suffrage.
	Vermont	School suffrage.
	South Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1881	Scotland	Municipal suffrage to the single women and widows.
	Isle of Man	Parliamentary suffrage.
1883	Nebraska	School suffrage.
1884	Ontario	Municipal suffrage.
	Tasmania	Municipal suffrage.
1886	New Zealand	Municipal suffrage.
	New Brunswick	Municipal suffrage.
1887	Kansas	Municipal suffrage.
	Nova Scotia	Municipal suffrage.
	Manitoba	Municipal suffrage.
	North Dakota	School suffrage.
	South Dakota	School suffrage.
	Montana	School suffrage.
	Arizona	School suffrage.
	New Jersey	School suffrage.
	Montana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1888	England	County suffrage.
	British Columbia	Municipal suffrage.
	Northwest Territory	Municipal suffrage.
1889	Scotland	County suffrage.
	Province of Quebec	Municipal suffrage. Single women and widows.
1891	Illinois	School suffrage.
1893	Connecticut	School suffrage.
	Colorado	Full suffrage.
	New Zealand	Full suffrage.
1894	Ohio	School suffrage.
	Iowa	Bond suffrage.
	England	Parish and district suffrage. Married and single women.
1895	South Australia	Full state suffrage.
1896	Utah	Full suffrage.
	Idaho	Full suffrage.
1898	Ireland	All offices except members of Parliament.
	Minnesota	Library trustees.
	Delaware	School suffrage to tax-paying women.
	France	Women engaged in commerce can vote for judges of the Tribunal of commerce.
	Louisiana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1900	Wisconsin	School suffrage.
	West Australia	Full state suffrage.
1901	New York	Tax-paying suffrage. Local taxation in all towns and villages of the state.
1901	Norway	Municipal suffrage.

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Time	Place	Kind of Suffrage
1902	Australia	Full suffrage.
	New South Wales	Full state suffrage.
1903	Kansas	Bond Suffrage.
	Tasmania	Full state suffrage.
1905	Queensland	Full state suffrage.
1906	Finland	Full suffrage. Eligible to all offices.
1907	Norway	Full parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage.
	Sweden	Eligible to municipal offices.
	Denmark	Can vote for members of boards of public charities and serve on such boards.
	England	Eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town councillors.
	Oklahoma	New state continued school suffrage for women.
1908	Michigan	Taxpayers to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises.
	Denmark	Women who are taxpayers, or wives of taxpayers, a vote for all officers except members of Parliament.
	Victoria	Full state suffrage.
1909	Belgium	Can vote for members of the Counseils des Prudhommes, and also eligible.
	Province of Voralberg (Austrian Tyrol)	Single women and widows paying taxes were given a vote.
	Ginter Park, Va.	Tax-paying women, a vote on all municipal questions.
1910	Washington	Full suffrage.
	New Mexico	School suffrage.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage made universal. (Three-fifths of the women had had it before.)
	Bosnia	Parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate.
	Diet of the Crown Province of Krain (Austria)	Suffrage to the women of its capital city, Laibach.
	India. (Gaekwar of Baroda)	Women of its dominions vote in municipal elections.
	Wurttemberg, Kingdom of	Women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the Chamber of agriculture. Also eligible.
	New York	Women in all towns, villages and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.
1911	California	Full suffrage.
	Honduras	Municipal suffrage in capital city, Belize.
	Iceland	Parliamentary suffrage for women over 25 years.
	Ireland	Women made eligible to city and county councils.
1912	Arizona	Full suffrage.
	Kansas	Full suffrage.
	Oregon	Full suffrage.
1913	Alaska	Full suffrage.
	Illinois	Presidential, municipal and partial state and county suffrage.
	Norway	Parliamentary suffrage made universal.
1914	British South Africa	Municipal suffrage granted to women in all four provinces—Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony and Transvaal. Women made eligible to local government bodies in Natal.
	Iceland	Full suffrage conferred on women.
	Illinois	Franchise law upheld as constitutional by the Supreme Court of Illinois.
	Montana	Full suffrage.
	Nevada	Full suffrage.
1915	Denmark	Full suffrage.
1916	Manitoba	Full suffrage.
	Alberta	Full suffrage.
	Saskatchewan	Full suffrage.
	British Columbia	Full suffrage.
	Yucatan	Full suffrage.

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DIVISION II

THE PROGRESS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

EARLY PROGRESS*

The first convention to consider the Rights of Women met July, 1848, at Seneca Falls, New York. It was called by Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others.

In April, 1850, a Woman's Rights Convention met at Salem, Ohio.

In October of the same year a convention was called at Worcester, Massachusetts. From the holding "of this convention the Woman's Rights movement may be said to have assumed a *national* aspect . . . a National Committee was formed, under whose management conventions were held annually in various cities, while the question was always thereafter a leading one in Massachusetts."

In October, 1851, a convention was held in Dublin, Indiana.

In 1852 a Woman's Rights Convention was held at Syracuse, New York. Delegates were present from eight States and Canada. This convention brought to the front the wonderful group of women whose names were thereafter connected with the movement, and it was here that Miss Anthony began her fifty-four years of leadership.

In June, 1852, the first Woman's Rights Convention of Pennsylvania was held in Westchester. From 1852, conventions were held in many parts of the country. "Leading men and women supported the movement for the rights of women, but as most of them were also leaders of the movement for the abolition of slavery, the former had to suffer the odium and opposition directed against both. It was slowly gaining ground, however, when the breaking out of the Civil War banished all other questions from public thought."

When the war was ended the women again took up their cause. . . . "In the earlier days there had been no thought of enfranchising women in any way, except through the submission of the question to the voters by the Legislature of each State, but now Congress, for the purpose of giving the ballot to the recently freed negro men, was about to submit an Amendment to the National Constitution."

To protest against "class legislation" and to demand that women should be included, Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony issued a call for a convention in New York City, May, 1866. This convention adopted a Memorial to Congress containing a statement of woman's right to the franchise. In her address Miss Anthony said: "Up to this hour we have looked only to State action for recognition of our rights, but now, by the results of the war, the whole question of suffrage reverts to Congress and the United States Constitution. The duty of Congress at this moment is to declare what shall be the true basis of representation in a republican form of government."

"The petitions which during the preceding winter had been sent to Congress represented the first effort ever made for an amendment to the Federal Constitution for woman suffrage, and the action of this Convention marked the first organized demand. . . . "

* Based upon "A Brief History of the Movement for Woman Suffrage in the United States," and "A National Amendment for Woman Suffrage."—(Both pamphlets by Ida Husted Harper.)

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The following month Congress proposed the Fourteenth Amendment enfranchising the negro. The women in vain demanded that the word "male" should be omitted from the Amendment.

In 1868, immediately after Congress assembled, Senators Pomeroy, of Kansas, and Representative George W. Julian, of Indiana, introduced resolutions providing that the basis of suffrage be that of citizenship. These were the first resolutions introduced in Congress for woman suffrage by National Amendment.

"Beginning with 1870, congressional committees had granted a hearing on woman suffrage every winter, even though no resolution was before them. Under the auspices of the National Association* petitions by the tens of thousands poured into Congress, which were publicly presented."

On January 10, 1878, Senator A. A. Sargent, of California, introduced into the United States Senate a National Amendment for Woman Suffrage, which had been drawn up by Miss Anthony.

The history of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is contained in Division III. [For history of Woman Suffrage from 1869–1916, see page 43.]

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY STATE ACTION*

The question of Woman Suffrage was first voted upon by a State legislative body, that of Nebraska, in 1856. In 1867 the question was first submitted to popular vote in Kansas.

In 1869 the legislative council of Wyoming, meeting after organization as a territory, passed a bill providing that women should have the same rights to vote as men. When Wyoming was admitted as a State, in 1890, equal suffrage was made a part of its constitution.

In 1893 equal suffrage was won in Colorado by a vote of 35,798 to 29,451.

In 1870, before Utah was admitted as a State, the Territorial Legislature passed a bill granting suffrage to women. In 1887 Congress revoked the rights granted by the Territorial Legislature, and women were without the vote until 1896. In that year equal suffrage was included in the constitution for statehood. In 1896 Idaho also became an equal suffrage State. The measure carried by a majority vote of 5,844.

In 1883 the Territorial Legislature of Washington passed a bill granting equal suffrage. In 1886 a question of constitutionality was raised, and in 1887 the Supreme Court declared the bill unconstitutional. In 1888 the Legislature re-enacted the bill, and the following year the Supreme Court disfranchised women on the ground that Territorial Legislatures had not power to extend suffrage. The question of equal suffrage was submitted to popular vote in 1889, and again in 1898, but was not carried until 1910.

In 1896 a suffrage amendment was submitted to the voters of California and defeated by 26,744. In 1911 the amendment was carried by a majority of 4,000.

In 1887 municipal suffrage was granted women in Kansas. In 1894 a constitutional amendment was submitted to the voters and defeated. In 1912 the amendment was resubmitted and carried by a majority of over 16,000.

In Oregon a suffrage amendment was submitted to the voters in 1884 and defeated. Between 1884 and 1912 an amendment was submitted four times and defeated. It was finally carried in 1912 by a vote of 61,265 to

* Based chiefly upon "Where Women Vote"—(National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.)

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57,104. An amendment also carried in Arizona in 1912 by a majority of 7,240.

The Territorial Legislature of Alaska in 1912 passed a bill granting full suffrage to women.

In 1913 the Legislature of Illinois enacted a law granting Presidential Suffrage and suffrage for all officers and upon all questions not provided for in the State Constitution.

In 1914 Nevada became an equal suffrage State by popular vote, every county but one giving a favorable majority. In the same year an amendment carried in Montana by a majority of about 4,000.

The following tables upon the progress of woman suffrage measures in state Legislatures show how widespread and how continuous has been the demand for woman suffrage in the United States.

THE PROGESS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEASURES IN STATE LEGISLATURES

[Compiled in collaboration with Mary Sumner Boyd, Secretary of the Data Department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.]

The following tables show the action taken, from year to year, upon woman suffrage measures by the Houses of State Legislatures.

Upon many measures it has been difficult to obtain a satisfactory record. The tables are as complete as it is possible to make them at present.

A tabulation of the vote upon these measures, when referred to the people, is contained on page 92.

The chief sources of reference have been the National American Woman Suffrage Association, State Suffrage Associations and State Legislative Reference Bureaus.*

STATE

Year	
	ALABAMA
1896	Bill for Municipal Suffrage and for suffrage on Liquor questions introduced in the Senate. Not reported from Judiciary Committee.
1915	Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 52; nays, 43. (Lacked three-fifths majority vote required.)
	ARIZONA
1887	**School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1895	Full Suffrage Bill came before Legislature.
1899	Full Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 10; nays, 5. Council—failed.
1911	Constitutional Convention failed to pass woman suffrage clause.
1912	Suffrage Amendment failed in Senate by one vote, and passed in House. Measure then went to the voters by initiative petition. **Passed by referendum and became law.**
	ARKANSAS
1891	Bill for White Woman Suffrage....4 ayes (failed—unconstitutional).
1911	Amendment—6 votes in favor.
1913	Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 19; nays, 9. House—ayes, 35; nays, 54.
1915	Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 24; nays, 12. House—ayes, 51; nays, 18.
	Passed, but not submitted to referendum on account of a rule that only three referenda could be submitted at once.

* State Suffrage Associations are asked to send the Data Department, N. A. W. S. A., any additional information which should be included in these tables.

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TERRITORY OF ALASKA

In 1912, Congress specifically provided, in the Act organizing Alaska into a Territory, that its Legislature might enfranchise women.

This was done by a unanimous vote when the Legislature met for the first time in 1913.

CALIFORNIA

1868	Suffragists addressed Legislature.	
1889	School Suffrage.....	Senate—ayes, 24; nays, 7. House—ayes, 36; nays, 22.
	Passed and became law.	
1891	Bill for Full Suffrage by Legislative Act alone. (Backed by many petitions.).....	Senate—ayes, 21; nays, 7. House—No vote.
1895	Bill like that of 1891	Senate—failed as unconstitutional. House—ayes, 46; nays, 29.
1895	Full Suffrage Bill.....	Senate—ayes, 28; nays, 6. (Passed.) House—ayes, 54; nays, 12. (Passed.)
	Submitted to referendum and defeated (1896).	
1897	Full Suffrage Bill.....	Senate—ayes, 24; nays, 14. (Failed.) House—ayes, 43; nays, 27. (Lacked two-thirds majority.)
1899	School Suffrage and Tax Suffrage.	Senate—one nay vote. House—passed.
	Passed. Governor vetoed it as unconstitutional.	
1901	School Suffrage Bill.....	Senate—ayes, 14; nays, 21. House—ayes, 56; nays, 12.
1905	Full Suffrage Bill.....	Senate—ayes, 21; nays, 14. House—ayes, 38; nays, 39
1907	Full Suffrage.....	Senate—ayes, 18; nays, 11. House—(1st vote), ayes, 46; nays, 29. (2nd vote), ayes, 54; nays, 16.
1909	Full Suffrage.....	House—ayes, 39; nays, 37.
1911	Full Suffrage.....	Senate—ayes, 33; nays, 5. (Passed.) House—ayes, 66; nays, 12. (Passed.)
	Submitted to referendum. Passed and became law.	

COLORADO

1870	Full Suffrage.....	House—two-thirds nays. Council — majority unfavorable (by one).
1876	Suffrage lost by vote of 24–8.	
	School Suffrage passed and became law.	
1877	Full Suffrage passed by Legislature. Submitted to the people and defeated.	
1893	Full Suffrage.....	House—ayes, 34; nays, 27. Senate—ayes, 20; nays, 10.
	Passed by referendum and became law.	

CONNECTICUT

1884	School Suffrage lost.	
1885	School Suffrage rejected by both Houses.	
1886	Amendment defeated by both Houses.	
1887	Amendment—unfavorable report by Committee.	
1889	Full Suffrage indefinitely postponed.	
1893	**School Suffrage Bill passed and became law.**	
1895	Presidential Suffrage Bill—reported unfavorably.	
	Municipal Suffrage Bill.....	House—passed. Senate—failed (by unanimous vote).
1897	Presidential Suffrage Bill—rejected after third reading.	
	Municipal Suffrage Bill reported unfavorably.	
	School Suffrage Bill—passed.	
1899	Municipal Suffrage Bill.....	House—rejected. Senate—ayes, 9; nays, 12.
	Tax Payers' Suffrage.....	House—passed. Senate—failed.
1911	Amendment lost.	
1913	Amendment.....	House—ayes, 74; nays, 150.
1915	Amendment.....	House—ayes, 106; nays, 124.

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DELAWARE

1881 Full Suffrage Bill failed.
1898 There were many petitions to the Legislature, and in 1898 **a School Suffrage Bill passed and became law.**
1913 Full Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 6; nays, 11.
House—ayes, 8; nays, 23.
1915 Full Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 6; nays, 11.
House—ayes, 8; nays, 22.
(An Amendment to the Constitution may be passed by the Legislature and does not have to be submitted to a vote of the people.)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

1866 Full Suffrage Bill introduced in Congress.
1868 Full Suffrage Bill introduced in Congress.
1871 Bill for Woman Suffrage in District of Columbia came before Congress and failed. Before 1871 many petitions had been presented to Congress. Since 1878, when men were disfranchised, there have been many man and woman suffrage bills before Congress.
1916 Poindexter Bill reported on favorably by District Committee.

FLORIDA

1913 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 15; nays, 16.
House—ayes, 26; nays, 39.
1915 Amendment.....House—ayes, 31; nays, 24.
(Lacked three-fifths majority required.)

GEORGIA

1888 Bill for Charter of town of Dupont giving suffrage to women—failed.
1915 Amendment—killed in Committee.
1916 Amendment.....Senate—Hearing was set for "August 17th," which was the day after the Legislature adjourned.
House—ayes, 21; nays, 91.

IDAHO

1887 Petition to Territorial Legislature.
1889 Petition to Constitutional Convention.
1895 Amendment.....Senate—unanimous. Passed.
House—ayes, 33; nays, 2. Passed.
1896 **Submitted to referendum and became law.**

ILLINOIS *

1891 Amendment.....Senate—no vote.
House—ayes, 64 (not a constitutional majority).
1893 Township Suffrage Bill.....Senate—passed.
House—failed.
1895 Township Suffrage Bill—failed.
1897 Township Suffrage Bill—failed.
Bond Suffrage Bill—failed.
Presidential and Municipal Suffrage—failed.
1901 Amendment introduced.
Municipal Suffrage Bill introduced.
1903, 1905, 1907 Same as 1901.
1909 Amendment, Presidential and Municipal, etc., introduced.
(Municipal Suffrage in Chicago Charter failed.)
1913 Presidential and Municipal Suffrage..Senate—ayes, 29; nays, 15.
House—ayes, 83; nays, 58.
Passed and became law.

* The Constitution of Illinois provides that the Legislature shall have power to confer the Suffrage for any official whose Election is not provided for in the Constitution.

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INDIANA

1865 Senate—Joint Resolution for Suffrage Amendment. Report laid on table and not considered.

1871 Senate—Resolution providing for submission of the woman suffrage question to the women themselves was adopted by a vote of 36 to 3. "Later the select committee brought in a divided report. The majority report described the proposal as "undesirable and inexpedient."

Joint resolution to amend the constitution introduced. Majority report rejected, 28—20. Minority report rejected, 27—20.

1873 American Woman Suffrage Association asked for:
(1) Presidential Suffrage;
(2) Constitutional Amendment.
Both resolutions laid on table and not subsequently considered.

1877 Amendment introduced in Senate. Not considered.

1881 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 27; nays, 18.
House—ayes, 62; nays, 24.
Presidential Amendment lost by 4 votes in Senate and by 2 in House.

1883 Amendment.....House—ayes, 53; nays, 42.

1885 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 25; nays, 29.

1891 Amendment introduced. Indefinitely postponed.

1892 Presidential and Municipal Suffrage reported unfavorably in House.
School Suffrage reported unfavorably.

1893 One Bill introduced in House and two in Senate giving women right to vote for statutory offices. Referred to committee in each House.

1895 Suffrage Resolution introduced. Referred to committee.

1899 Amendment referred to Judiciary Committee of House.

1901 Amendment.....Senate—referred to committee.
House—ayes, 49; nays, 33 (not a constitutional majority).
Later the resolution was taken up for consideration and passed by a vote of 52—32. This vote was reconsidered and motion laid on the table.

1907 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 22; nays, 24.
Suffrage Bill and Presidential Suffrage Bill reported favorably in House.

1908 Suffrage Bill and Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced in the House.

1911 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—reported favorably.
House—ayes, 41; nays, 48.

1913 Amendment.....Senate—referred to committee.
School Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 27; nays, 10.

1915 Bill introduced in Senate making women eligible to office of school trustee and school commissioner. Reported unfavorably by committee.
Presidential Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 37; nays, 3.
House—Referred to Judiciary Committee.
Presidential Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 36; nays, 8.

IOWA

1861 Legislature instructed Committee on Constitutional Amendments to enquire into expediency of striking out word "male."

1868 House Resolution passed in favor.

1870 House Resolution in favor of woman suffrage introduced in Legislature. Senate defeated a Bill referring the question to women. (By "straw vote.")

1872 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 68; nays, 39.
Senate—ayes, 22; nays, 24.

1874 Suffrage Bill passed both Houses.

1876 Same Bill passed by House, rejected by Senate.
(Governor recommended passage of this bill.)

1878 House—indefinitely postponed; Senate—rejected.

1880 House accepted; Senate rejected.
Both Houses passed School Suffrage.

1882 Full Suffrage passed both Houses.

1884 Full Suffrage rejected.

1886 Municipal Suffrage Bill introduced—no vote.
School Suffrage Bill introduced—no vote.

1888 Municipal and School Suffrage....House—ayes, 11; nays, 80.
No vote in the Senate.

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IOWA—Continued

1890 School Suffrage Bill did not reach vote. Municipal Bill not reported in House, and in Senate killed in Committee.
1892 Presidential Suffrage.....House—unfavorable report.
Senate—not reported by Committee.
1894 Municipal Suffrage Bill reported favorably in House.
School Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 27; nays, 20.
House—ayes, 51; nays, 39.
Tax Suffrage passed.
1898 Full Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 50; nays, 47.
Senate—No vote.
1900 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 44; nays, 55.
Senate—ayes, 24; nays, 23.
1902
1904
1906 Suffrage Amendment introduced.
1907
1909
1913 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 31; nays, 15.
House—ayes, 81; nays, 26.
1915 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 84; nays, 19. Passed.
Senate—ayes, 38; nays, 11. Passed.
Submitted to referendum and defeated (1916).
Presidential Suffrage Bill indefinitely postponed.

KANSAS

1861 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1867 Amendment passed both Houses. Submitted to referendum and rejected.
1881 Amendment.....Senate—Tie.
House—ayes, 51; nays, 31.
1885 Municipal Suffrage Bill introduced—House did not reach a vote.
1886 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 12; nays, 25.
1887 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 25; nays, 13.
House—ayes, 116; nays, 35.
Passed and became law.
1891 Full Suffrage proposed by Legislative Act alone.
Senate—Failed.
House—ayes, 60; nays, 39. (Not a Constitutional majority.)
1893 Amendment passed by Legislature. Submitted to referendum and rejected (1894).
1897 Bond Suffrage Bill—Not reported.
Presidential Suffrage—Not reported.
1901 Presidential Suffrage—Senate, passed, reconsidered and lost.
1903 Presidential Suffrage—Killed in Committee.
Bond Suffrage passed and became law.
1905 Presidential Suffrage.....Senate—passed.
House—killed.
1907 Amendment—Died in Committee.
1909 Presidential Suffrage Bill—Introduced.
1911 Amendment—Passed by Legislature.
1912 Amendment submitted to referendum.
Passed and became law.

KENTUCKY

1838 **School Suffrage (limited) passed and became law.**
1890 Attempt to get suffrage question before Constitutional Convention did not succeed.
1892 School Suffrage (full) failed.
1894 Charters of Covington, Newport and Lexington allowed women to vote for school board. Revoked in 1902.
1903 Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced in Senate.—No vote.
1912 **Full School Suffrage—passed.**
1914 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 29; nays, 51.
1916 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 26; nays, 8.
House—ayes, 46; nays, 45.
(Not a Constitutional majority.)

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LOUISIANA

1879 Petition to Constitutional Convention.
1898 **Tax Suffrage Amendment (with proxy vote) passed by Constitutional Convention.**
1908 School Suffrage lost in Committee.
1916 Amendment.....House—ayes, 60; nays, 49.
(Not a Constitutional majority.)

MAINE

1887 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 15; nays, 13.
House—ayes, 67; nays, 47. (Not the required ⅔ vote.)
1889 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 18; nays, 8.
House—ayes, 42; nays, 91.
1891 Senate and House reported unfavorably.
1893 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 16; nays, 13.
House—ayes, 54; nays, 63.
1895 Petition for Municipal Suffrage...Senate—ayes, 11; nays, 15.
House—ayes, 79; nays, 54.
1897 Petition for Municipal Suffrage placed on file.
1901 Amendment killed in Committee.
1903 Tax Paying Suffrage Bill.....Senate—tie.
House—large majority against.
1905 Amendment killed in Committee.
1907 } Amendment voted against in Committee.
1909 }
1911 Amendment.....Senate—⅔ majority for.
House—small majority for. Lost.
1913 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 23; nays, 6.
House—ayes, 89; nays, 53.
1915 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 26; nays, 4.
House—ayes, 88; nays, 59. Failed by 10 votes of required majority.

MARYLAND

1900 City of Annapolis gave Taxpayers Woman Suffrage by an amendment to its Charter.
1909 Amendment defeated
Taxpayers' Woman Suffrage Bill..Senate—passed.
House—defeated.
1914 Amendment failed.
1916 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 17; nays, 7.
House—ayes, 36; nays, 64.

MASSACHUSETTS

1849 Petition presented to Legislature.
1853 Petition presented to Constitutional Convention, and hearing given.
1857 Hearing before Judiciary Committee.
1858 Hearing before Committee on Qualifications of Voters.
1867 Petition for suffrage presented to Legislature by Mehitable Haskell, and again in 1868.

The votes on the woman suffrage question in the House of Representatives from 1868–1882, inclusive, were:

Year	Ayes	Nays	Year	Ayes	Nays
1868	74	119	1876	77	127
1869	84	111	1877	83	122
1870	68	133	1878	93	127
1871	68	68	1879	82	85
1872	78	135	1880	60	138
1873	83	98	1881	76	122
1874 vote not taken..			1882	66	107
1875	75	120			

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MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

1879 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1882 Presidential Suffrage introduced—no action.
1884 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 61; nays, 155.
1885 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 61; nays, 131.
Full Suffrage introduced.
1886 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 77; nays, 132.
1887 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 86; nays, 122.
1888 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 50; nays, 121.
License Suffrage.....House—ayes, 118; nays, 110.
Senate—ayes, 20; nays, 19.
Presidential Suffrage introduced.
Suffrage Amendment introduced.
1889 License Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 15; nays, 19.
House—ayes, 101; nays, 42.
1890 Suffrage Measure.....House—ayes, 73; nays, 141.
1891 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 12; nays, 25.
1892 Municipal Suffrage introduced.
Full Suffrage introduced.
License Suffrage.....House—ayes, 117; nays, 123.
Presidential Suffrage—vote not recorded.
1893 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 111; nays, 101.
1894 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 118; nays, 107.
Senate—ayes, 14; nays, 24.
1895 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—not considered.
House—ayes, 137; nays, 97.
Proposition for "straw vote" passed. Suffrage question submitted by "straw vote" to the women and failed.
1896 Municipal Suffrage—failed.
Improved School Suffrage Bill introduced.
Amendment introduced.
License Suffrage.....House—ayes, 93; nays, 116.
1897 Municipal and Presidential Suffrage introduced. Lost without roll call.
License Suffrage.....Ayes, 108; nays, 125.
1898 Municipal Suffrage introduced and not debated.
License Suffrage.....House—ayes, 60; nays, 116.
1899 The same bills introduced and one for Taxpayers Suffrage.
1900 Presidential Suffrage—voted down without a roll call.
1914 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 34; nays, 2.
House—ayes, 168; nays, 39.
1915 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 33; nays, 3. Passed.
House—ayes, 196; nays, 33. Passed.
Submitted to referendum and defeated.

MICHIGAN

1866 1st Petition to Legislature for a suffrage amendment. Bill defeated by a majority of one.
1870 Amendment passed both Houses but was vetoed by Governor. This bill contained a clause that women should vote on this referendum.
1874 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 26; nays, 4. Passed.
House—ayes, 67; nays 27. Passed.
Submitted and defeated on referendum.
1875 Amendment on School Suffrage. **Passed in Legislature and by referendum and became law.**
1877 Amendment on Liquor Suffrage defeated in Legislature.
1879 Amendment.....House—failed by a majority of 5.
Senate—passed by majority of 6.
1881 Amendment.....House—ayes, 54; nays, 34. (Lacked ⅗ majority.)
1883 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 47; nays, 29. (Lacked ⅗.)
1885 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 14; nays, 15.
Amendment.....Senate—no action.
House—ayes, 81; nays, 10.
1887 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—no action.
House—lost.

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MICHIGAN—Continued

1889 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 11; nays, 12.
House—ayes, 59; nays, 34.
1891 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 14; nays, 15.
Petition presented for Woman Suffrage by direct legislation.
1893 Bill to provide for Woman Suffrage in Detroit killed in Committee.
Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 18; nays, 11.
House—ayes, 57; nays, 25.
This act held unconstitutional in Coffin vs. Election Commissioners (97 Mich., 188).
1895 Amendment lost by one vote.
1908 **Bill for Tax Suffrage passed and became law.**
1910 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—failed by 2 votes.
1912 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 23; nays, 5.
House—ayes, 75; nays, 19.
Defeated on referendum.
1913 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 25; nays, 4.
House—ayes, 73; nays, 19.
Defeated on referendum.
1915 Bill further extending Tax Suffrage passed.
Presidential Suffrage rejected as unconstitutional.

MINNESOTA

1867 Amendment given hearing.
1868 Amendment defeated.
1870 Bill for "straw vote" passed, but vetoed by Governor.
1875 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1877 Bill for suffrage on liquor question failed.
1885 Enlarged school suffrage bill passed and became law.
1891* Municipal Suffrage Bill.....House—postponed.
1892 Proposal for Suffrage by Act of Legislature alone—failed.
1893 Amendment.....ayes, 54; nays, 44. (Lacked the necessary two-thirds. Had been substituted for Municipal Suffrage Bill.)
1895 Amendment—indefinitely postponed.
1897 Taxpayers' Suffrage Bill not reported.
1901–1903 Amendments killed in Committee.
1905 Petitions to Governor.
Amendment killed in Committee.
1907 Amendment failed.
1909 Amendment defeated by small margin.
1911 Amendment.....Senate—defeated by majority of 2.
House—passed by a majority of 81.
1913 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 30; nays, 33.
House—ayes, 80; nays, 37.
1915 Presidential Suffrage.....House—not voted upon.
Effort to have it placed on special orders failed of necessary two-thirds, but polled large majority.
Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 33; nays, 34.

MISSISSIPPI

1887 Suffrage on liquor question passed and became law.
1880 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1914 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 80; nays, 42.
Not introduced in Senate.

MISSOURI

1867–1868 Petition to Legislature.
1872 Mrs. V. L. Minor tried to vote (Minor vs. Happersett).
1875 Petition to Constitutional Convention.
1881 Mrs. Minor addressed Legislative Committee.
1895 Amendment.....House—ayes, 47; nays, 69.
1895 Amendment lost.

* From 1890 to 1897 Petitions were presented to each Legislature for Suffrage on Liquor question and for Municipal Suffrage; but no action was taken.

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MISSOURI—Continued

1913 Bill sent to engrossment both houses, but referred back to Committee last week of Session.

1914 Amendment.....House—large majority in favor. Senate—5 dissenting votes. } Passed.

Submitted to referendum. Rejected.

1915 Amendment.....House—ayes, 88; nays, 40.

MONTANA

1895 Amendment.....Senate—indefinitely postponed. House—ayes, 45; nays, 12.

1897 Amendment.....Senate—not acted upon. House—lacked 5 votes of necessary two-thirds.

1899 Amendment.....Lost in Committee.

1913 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 26; nays, 2. House—ayes, 75; nays, 2.

Passed.

1914 **Submitted to the people and passed.**

NEBRASKA

1856 (Territorial Legislature.) Full Suffrage Bill. House—ayes, 3; nays, 16.

1871 Legislature petitioned. Opinion was delivered by State Attorney-General that women had the right to vote under Federal Constitution (Amend. XIV. and XV.) and that they should be admitted to vote in revision of Constitution of 1871, and should be permitted to vote on their own referendum. Failed on referendum.

1880 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 51; nays, 22. Senate—ayes, 22; nays, 8. } Passed.

Failed on referendum.

1882 Amendment defeated by popular vote.

1883 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**

1887 Partial Suffrage Bill—favorable Committee action but not voted upon.

1889 Similar Bill, but did not get favorable Committee action.

1891 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 44; nays, 49.

1893 Partial Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 35; nays, 48.

Amendment.....House—ayes, 42; nays, 47.

1897 Municipal Suffrage Bill defeated.

1909 Amendment.....House—ayes, 62; nays, 34. Senate—ayes, 17; nays, 15.

1913 Amendment.....House—ayes, 49; nays, 50.

1914 Suffrage defeated by popular vote.

1915 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 40; nays, 54.

NEVADA

1869 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—(1st vote), ayes, 17; nays, 21. (2nd vote), ayes, 21; nays, 18. House—ayes, 12; nays, 4.

(Not presented to the next Legislature.)

1883 Amendment.....Senate—passed. House—failed.

1895 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 11; nays, 3. House—ayes, 19; nays, 10.

1897 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 9; nays, 5. House—ayes, 15; nays, 15. } Lost.

1911 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 16; nays, 2. House—ayes, 31; nays, 13.

1913 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 19; nays, 3 House—ayes, 49; nays, 3. } Passed.

Submitted to referendum and passed (1914).

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NEW HAMPSHIRE

"Bills for Municipal Suffrage introduced into every legislature since 1868. From 1870, petitions for full suffrage were presented to every legislature."

1878 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1885 Petition to Legislature.
1887 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 87; nays, 148.
1889 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....No action.
1891 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....No action.
Taxpayers Suffrage Bill..... No action.
1895 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....House—(passed 2nd reading; 3rd reading refused).
1902 Amendment—Passed by the Legislature. Submitted to referendum and rejected (1903).
1903 Municipal Suffrage submitted to the Constitutional Convention.
1905 Municipal Suffrage reported favorably.
1907 Municipal Suffrage defeated.
1909 Municipal Suffrage—3rd reading, defeated.
1913 Presidential and Municipal Suffrage—introduced in House.
1915 Presidential Suffrage, Municipal and County, voted on by House—ayes, 121; nays, 230.

NEW JERSEY

This State had Woman Suffrage up to 1807.

1884 Petition for restoration of original suffrage rights and for school suffrage.
1887 Suffrage for school officials in villages and for County officials:
Senate—ayes, 15; nays, 2.
House—unanimously in favor.
Passed and became law. Declared unconstitutional in 1894.
1895 Petition for Full Suffrage and School Suffrage rights.
1897 Resolution for a referendum on School Suffrage:
Senate—ayes, 15; nays, 1. Passed.
House—ayes, 42; nays, 5. Passed.
Submitted to referendum and rejected.
1912 Resolution for Full Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 3; nays, 18.
*1913 Resolution for Full Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 14; nays, 5. Passed.
House—ayes, 44, nays, 7. Passed.
1914 Suffrage Resolution.....Senate—ayes, 15; nays, 3.
House—ayes, 49; nays, 4.
1915 Suffrage Resolution.....Senate—ayes, 17; nays, 4.
House—passed unanimously.
Submitted to referendum and defeated.
1916 Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced in Senate. Referred to Committee on Judiciary and unfavorably reported.

NEW MEXICO

1888 Petition to Constitutional Convention failed.
1893 School Suffrage.....Senate—No action.
House—Passed.
1895 School Suffrage—defeated.
1899 School Suffrage.....House—⅔ nays.
"There has been a Suffrage Bill introduced regularly at each Legislature."
1910 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1915 Amendment introduced—No action.

NEW YORK

1854 Petition of about 6,000 persons presented to House; one of 4,000 presented to Senate.
Hearing before both Houses.
1867 Petition of about 20,000 presented to the Constitutional Convention. Vote—ayes, 19; nays, 125.
1880 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1884 Full Suffrage.....House—ayes, 57; nays, 62.

* This Resolution through error was not advertised in time, so that a Resolution had to be introduced in the Legislature of 1914.

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NEW YORK—Continued

1885 Full Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 57; nays, 56 (not a Constitutional majority).
1886 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 63; nays, 52.
1887 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 20; nays, 9.
House—ayes, 48; nays, 68.
1888 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 15; nays, 15.
House—ayes, 48; nays, 61.
1889 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 56; nays, 43.
1890 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 47; nays, 52.
1892 Working Women's Suffrage Bill—not reported.

1894 Vote in Constitutional Convention on Full Suffrage:
Ayes, 58; nays, 98.
1895 Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 80; nays, 31.
Senate—ayes, 20; nays, 5.

In the next Legislature not reported by Senate Committee and no action in House.

1899 Taxpayers Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 98; nays, 9.
Senate—ayes, 21; nays, 24.

1900 A bill not to vote on Constitutional Woman Suffrage that year passed Legislature.
Tax Suffrage.....House—passed almost unanimously; did not come up in Senate.
1901 Tax Suffrage.....House—ayes, 83; nays, 29.
Senate—ayes, 27; nays, 14.

Passed and became law.

1902
1903 Bills to extend the above lost.
1905

1906 Amendment.
1907 Bill to extend Taxpayers Suffrage.

1907
1908 Amendments lost.
1909

1910 Township Suffrage on bond issues..Senate—ayes, 131; nays, 0.
House—ayes, 43; nays, 0.
1911 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 15; nays, 19.
1913 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 40; nays, 2.
House—ayes, 128; nays, 5.
1915 Suffrage Amendment—passed both Houses by unanimous vote.
Submitted to referendum and defeated.
1916 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 33; nays, 10.
House—ayes, 109; nays, 30.

[The Legislature of 1917 must also approve the Amendment before it can be submitted to the voters.]

Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced in Senate and House. Referred to Committee on Judiciary; no report.

NORTH CAROLINA

Bills for full Suffrage and for Taxpaying Suffrage were proposed, but none acted upon until 1900.

1913 Amendment defeated overwhelmingly.
1915 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 11; nays, 31.
House—ayes, 39; nays, 68.

NORTH DAKOTA

1872 Suffrage failed by one vote in Territorial Legislature.
1885 Full Suffrage Bill introduced (Territorial Legislature):
House—ayes, 29; nays, 18.
Council—ayes, 14; nays, 10.

Vetoed by Governor. Effort to get Woman Suffrage in Constitution for statehood failed.

1887 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**

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NORTH DAKOTA—Continued

1889 Effort to get Constitutional Convention to add a clause allowing extension of suffrage by Legislature, but not its restriction, failed.

1893 Full Suffrage Bill.....House—indefinitely postponed.
Senate—ayes, 20; nays, 9.

1895 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 28.
(Not Constitutional majority.)

1909 Bill giving suffrage on liquor question:
House—ayes, 53; nays, 26.
Passed. Reconsidered and indefinitely postponed.
Resolution for Suffrage Amendment introduced in House. Committee on Elections and Privileges recommended indefinite postponement.

1911 Concurrent resolution for Amendment:
Senate—ayes, 23; nays, 25.
Suffrage Bill in House referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage, which recommended indefinite postponement. Roll call on report—54 ayes, 42 nays.

1913 Bill providing for Woman Suffrage indefinitely postponed.
Bill introduced in Senate proposing a "Constitutional Amendment providing that Woman Suffrage be submitted to a vote of the women of the State." Passed in Senate by a vote of 41 ayes to 9 nays. In House, indefinitely postponed. (S. B. 128.)
Bill providing for Woman Suffrage passed by the Legislature. The question submitted to the voters at the general election in 1914, and rejected.

1915 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 31; nays, 15.
Reconsidered and tabled.
Called from House. Vote on a motion to return to the House—ayes, 25; nays, 23. Tabled.
Suffrage Bill introduced in Senate.

OHIO

1857 Select Committee of Senate reported favorably on a petition for Woman Suffrage with 10,000 signatures.

1872 Petition to Constitutional Convention—Lost by 2 votes.

1889 Suffrage Amendment introduced.

1890 Bill for full Suffrage.....House—ayes, 54; nays, 47.
(Not the necessary majority.)

1891 Petitions presented without results.

1892 }
1893 } School Suffrage defeated by small majority.

1894 Municipal Suffrage—not reported.
School Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 20; nays, 6.
House—ayes, 55; nays, 26.
Passed and became law.

1910 Amendment introduced.

1912 Constitutional Convention—ayes, 76; nays, 34.
Suffrage rejected by popular vote.

1914 Suffrage submitted by petition and rejected by popular vote.

1915 Amendment introduced—no action.

OKLAHOMA

1890 Full Suffrage failed in Territorial Legislature.
School Suffrage passed and became law.

1897 Full Suffrage.....House—ayes, 13; nays, 9.
Killed in Council.

1899 Full Suffrage.....House—ayes, 14; nays,10.
Killed in Council

1907 Effort to get Suffrage clause passed by Constitutional Convention.

1910 Amendment—Passed Legislature. Submitted to the people and failed (1912).

1915 Amendment introduced.

1916 Amendment.....Senate—adverse report.
House—ayes, 62; nays, 15.

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OREGON

1872 Full Suffrage failed.
1874 Full Suffrage failed.
1878 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1880 Full Suffrage failed.
1884 Suffrage Amendment passed by Legislature. Submitted to the people and defeated.
1895 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 17; nays, 11.
House—ayes, 41; nays, 11.
(Second passing should have been in 1897, but no action was taken.)
1899 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 25; nays, 1. **Passed.**
House—ayes, 48; nays, 6. **Passed.**
1900 Submitted to the people and rejected.
1906 Amendment passed by Legislature. Submitted to the people and rejected.
1908 The same.
1910 The same.
1912 Suffrage Amendment passed by Legislature. **Submitted to the people and passed.**

PENNSYLVANIA

1872 Petition for Woman Suffrage presented to the Constitutional Convention—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage and no action taken.
1885 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 13; nays, 13.
House—Passed.
1887 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 28; nays, 16.
House—defeated.
1905 School Suffrage defeated.
1907 School Suffrage.....House—defeated. Reconsidered and postponed.
1911 School Suffrage. Introduced in House, no further action. In Senate—passed first reading, no further action.
1913 School Suffrage.....House—ayes, 131; nays, 70.
Senate—ayes, 26; nays, 22.
1915 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 130; nays, 71.
Senate—ayes, 37; nays, 11.
Submitted to the people and defeated.

RHODE ISLAND

1869 Suffrage Amendment introduced and given hearings.
1885 Amendment passed both Houses, failed through a technicality.
1886 Suffrage Amendment passed both Houses by the necessary two-thirds vote.
1887 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 28; nays, 8. } Passed.
House—ayes, 57; nays, 5. }
Submitted to referendum and defeated.
1892 Bill for Presidential Suffrage submitted but not reported.
1897 Constitution Commission passed Suffrage, but Constitution was rejected.
1902 Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced.
1904 Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced.
1905 Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced in House.
1907 Presidential Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 19; nays, 16.
(By roll call vote.)
House—Referred to Committee on Special Legislation.
1908 Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced in House. Referred to Committee on Special Legislation. Not reported.
1909 Presidential Suffrage Bill—Senate referred to the next session of the General Assembly. In the House indefinitely postponed.
1910 Bill introduced in the House providing for the "Casting of sample ballots by women under certain conditions at elections to be held that year." Referred to Committee. Senate Bill reported from Committee, but indefinitely postponed by roll call vote of 33–3.
1911 Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced in House. Referred to Committee on Special Legislation, which reported it back without recommendation.
1912 Two Suffrage Bills introduced in the House. Referred to Committee.

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RHODE ISLAND—Continued

1914 Two Presidential Suffrage Bills introduced in the Senate. Referred to Committee and never reported back.

Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced in the House. Referred to Committee and never reported back.

1915 Bill for Full Suffrage and one for Presidential Suffrage introduced in Senate. Referred to Committee on Special Legislation.

Two Suffrage Bills introduced in House. One never reported back from Committee, the other indefinitely postponed by roll call vote of 65 ayes and 31 nays.

1916 Presidential Suffrage Bill killed in Committee.

SOUTH CAROLINA

1872 Petition to Legislature.

1890 Virginia Durant Young petitioned Legislature.

1892* Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 14; nays, 21.

1895 Effort to introduce Woman Suffrage clause through Constitutional Convention failed—ayes, 13; nays, 21.

1912 Amendment.....House—killed in Committee.

1914 Suffrage Amendment introduced. School Suffrage failed.

1915 Amendment reported unfavorably by Judiciary Committee.

1916 Amendment.....Senate—did not get out of Committee.
House—ayes, 51; nays, 6.

SOUTH DAKOTA

1887 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
Full Suffrage.....House—failed by 13 votes.
Council—failed by 6 votes.
School Suffrage extended—passed and became law.

1889 Full Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 40; nay, 1.
House—ayes, 84; nays, 9.

1890 Full Suffrage.....House—ayes, 84; nays, 9.
Senate—ayes, 40; nay, 1. } Passed.
Submitted to referendum—failed.

1893 School Suffrage further extended..House—ayes, 60; nays, 14.
Senate—ayes, 39; nays, 2.

1897 Full Suffrage.....House—ayes, 45; nays, 32.
Senate—ayes, 31; nays, 9. } Passed.
Submitted to referendum and failed (1898).

1909 Suffrage at school or liquor elections.House—ayes, 67; nays, 29.
Senate—ayes, 34; nays, 10.

1913 Full Suffrage.....House—ayes, 70; nays, 30.
Senate—ayes, 40; nays, 2. } Passed.
Submitted to referendum and failed (1914).

1915 Bill providing that women vote for Presidential Electors, members of Board of County Commissioners and certain other county officers, and for all elective officers of cities, villages and towns, except Justices of the Peace, also upon questions submitted to such towns, etc., and at township meetings.
House—ayes, 59; nays, 40.
Senate—ayes, 18; nays, 24.

1915 Full Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 57; nays, 40.
Senate—ayes, 29; nays, 15. } Passed.

1916 Submitted to referendum and defeated.

TENNESSEE

1915 Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 26; nays, 3.
House—ayes, 74; nays, 14.

* In this year also a bill was introduced for Suffrage for Virginia Durant Young.

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TEXAS

1869 Constitutional Convention failed to adopt a Woman Suffrage provision (ayes, 13; nays, 54).

1875 Constitutional Convention refused to adopt a provision allowing women heads of families to vote for district school officers. (Not a record vote.)

1873 Committee on constitutional amendments reported suffrage resolution favorably to the Senate, which indefinitely postponed consideration by vote of 14 to 11.

1907 Amendment.....House—adverse committee report, with favorable minority report.

1911 Resolution.....House—adverse report; favorable minority report.

1913 Resolution.....Senate—failed to pass to engrossment by vote 8 to 13.
House—favorable report.

1915 Resolution.....Senate—favorable committee report.
Resolution favorably reported in House and passed to engrossment by vote 84 to 42. Final roll-call, 90 to 32. Failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

UTAH

1870 Woman Suffrage granted by Act of Territorial Legislature, but was withdrawn by the Edmunds-Locker Act of Congress in 1887.

1895 Full Suffrage was given in the Constitution for Statehood. (The Convention vote stood—ayes, 75; nays, 6.)

1896 **Submitted to referendum and passed.**

VERMONT

1870 Full Suffrage clause urged to Constitutional Convention. All delegates but one voted against Woman Suffrage.

1875 School Suffrage (tax). "There have been a great variety of town and municipal Suffrage bills with and without poll tax."

1880 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**

1884 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 69; nays, 113.

1886 Tax Suffrage.....House—ayes, 139; nays, 89.
Senate—ayes, 10; nays, 18.

1888 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 38; nays, 192.

1890 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 99; nays, 113.

1892 Municipal Suffrage.....House—ayes, 149; nays, 83.
Senate—ayes, 18; nays, 10.

1894 Municipal Suffrage.....Lost in Committee.

1896 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—unanimous.
House—ayes, 89; nays, 135.

1898 Municipal Suffrage Bill.....Lost.

1900 Municipal Suffrage.....Lost.

1903 Presidential Suffrage Bill.....Failed in both Houses.

1904 Municipal Suffrage—introduced.

1906 Tax Suffrage (Town Meetings)....House—ayes, 130; nays, 25.
Senate—Lacked 3 votes.
Municipal Suffrage—introduced.

1908 Tax Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 11; nays, 16.
Municipal Suffrage—introduced.

1910 Tax Suffrage.....House—ayes, 111; nays, 114.
Amendment—lost.
Bill for Suffrage on liquor question—lost.

1912 Amendment—lost.

1913 Partial Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 67; nays, 148.

1915 Municipal Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 9; nays, 19.
House—ayes, 100; nays, 129.
Presidential Suffrage.....Senate—ayes, 29; nays, 10.
House—ayes, 100; nays, 129.

VIRGINIA

"In earlier years many petitions were sent to the Legislature."

1912 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 12; nays, 84.

1914 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 13; nays, 74.

1916 Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 40; nays, 51.

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WASHINGTON

1867 Law passed giving "all white American citizens," 21 years and over, right to vote.
Mrs. M. O. Brown voted in 1869. She and other women were refused right to vote in 1870.*
1871 Full Suffrage Bill.....House—ayes, 13; nays, 11.
Council—ayes, 5; nays, 7.
1878 Constitutional Convention refused to pass suffrage clause by vote of 8–7.
1881 Full Suffrage Bill passed by two votes in House, failed by two in Council.
1883 Territorial Legislature granted full suffrage.
1886 Legislature passed a strengthening act.
1887 Law of 1883 declared void through a technicality.
1888 Law of 1883 re-enacted and in a few weeks declared unconstitutional by Supreme Court.
1889 Suffrage debated in Constitution for Statehood, but submitted as a separate amendment and rejected by referendum.
1890 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1897 Full Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 23; nays, 11. } Passed.
House—ayes, 54; nays, 15. }
1898 Submitted to referendum and rejected
1899 Amendment postponed indefinitely by straw vote.
1910 Passed by Legislature. Submitted to the people and passed.

WEST VIRGINIA

1867 Taxpayers Suffrage introduced.
1869 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 8; nays, 14.
1897 Petition to Constitutional Convention with no success.
1899 Dr. Shaw addressed Legislature. No bill introduced.
1915 Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 26; nays, 3. } Passed.
House—ayes, 76; nays, 8. }
1916 Submitted to referendum and defeated.

WISCONSIN

1900 **School Suffrage passed and became law.**
1901 Suffrage Bill introduced in Assembly, referred to Committee on Judiciary.
1902 Municipal Suffrage Bill introduced—small vote.
1903 Suffrage Bill introduced in Senate.
1905 Limited Suffrage Bill introduced in Senate.
1909 Full Suffrage Bill.....Senate—passed.
Assembly—ayes, 34; nays, 53.
1911 Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 16; nays, 4. } Passed
Assembly—ayes, 40; nays, 18. }
Submitted to referendum and defeated. (1912.)
1913 Suffrage Bill.....Senate—ayes, 17; nays, 15. } Passed
Assembly—ayes, 47; nays, 26. }
Vetoed by Governor.
1915 Full Suffrage Bill.....Senate—lost.
In House indefinitely postponed—ayes, 49; nays, 41.
Presidential Suffrage Bill.....Senate—indefinitely postponed.
Assembly—same.
Bill introduced in House extending suffrage to women in county, town, city and village election in counties which adopt its provisions. Senate—indefinitely postponed—ayes, 35; nays, 6.

WYOMING

1869 The first Territorial Legislative Council passed a bill providing that women should have the same rights to vote as men.
1890 When admitted as a State, woman suffrage was made a part of its Constitution. Wyoming was the first State to enfranchise women.

* Law passed expressly barring women.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE FROM 1869 TO 1916

[The information covering the period from 1890 on has been contributed by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.]

On May 15, 1869, a National Woman Suffrage Association was formed in New York. Its object was to secure a Sixteenth Amendment to the National Constitution, which would enfranchise women. Mrs. Stanton was made President and Miss Anthony was put on the Executive Committee.

As there was some division of sentiment at the time of the formation of the National Woman Suffrage Association, a call was issued by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe and others, for a Convention to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, the following November. At this Convention the American Woman Suffrage Association was formed, with Henry Ward Beecher as President, and Lucy Stone as Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Association worked principally to obtain Suffrage through Amendments to State Constitutions.*

In 1890 the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association united under the name of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The object, as adopted in the Constitution, was "to secure protection in their right to vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate national and state legislation."

From that time on plans for constructive educational work throughout the nation, campaigns on behalf of amendments to state constitutions, and work for the submission by Congress to the several state legislatures of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, formed the program for the Association.

In 1890, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was elected President and Miss Susan B. Anthony Vice-President. In 1892 Mrs. Stanton withdrew and Miss Anthony was elected President. Miss Anthony withdrew in 1900 and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was elected in her place. In 1904 Mrs. Catt withdrew and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was elected President. In 1915 Dr. Shaw became Honorary President and Mrs. Catt was again elected to the Presidency.

In 1916 the Association is a federation of sixty-three suffrage organizations in forty-five states and has to its credit the enfranchisement of women in eleven states by constitutional amendment, full suffrage for women in Alaska, presidential and municipal suffrage for women in Illinois by legislative enactment, and minor suffrage for women in twenty states.

As a result of its unceasing educational work the sentiment throughout the nation favorable to the enfranchisement of women has now made the question a political issue and the most discussed question of the day. Campaigns have been conducted in the last twenty-five years in many states, and by common consent it is acknowledged that defeated amendments have left such an increased popular belief in the cause that later victorious campaigns are admitted as inevitable.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is the American

*See—"A Brief History of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States." By Ida Husted Harper. National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company.

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Auxiliary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, which was organized in 1904. National conventions are held annually.

Until 1895 the work of the Association was carried on principally from the home of Miss Anthony, in Rochester, New York. In that year small headquarters were opened in the World Building, New York, and occupied by the newly-formed Organization Committee under the supervision of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. In the same year Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, corresponding secretary for twenty-one years, under instruction of the National Board, opened a National Headquarters in Philadelphia. In 1900 these two headquarters were combined and established in the American Tract Society Building in New York. In 1903 they were removed to Warren, Ohio, and placed in charge of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, National treasurer. In 1909 headquarters were again established in New York.

From time to time branch headquarters have been conducted in the city of Washington. From 1913 a permanent branch headquarters has been maintained there. In 1916 a large house, formerly occupied by Senator Elihu Root, became branch headquarters of the National Association. State headquarters have been founded in all the better organized states, and in many of the states additional city and county headquarters are permanently maintained.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, since the union of the two societies in 1890, has published and distributed millions of leaflets, has maintained a National Press Department, has assisted in organization work in various states and has held thousands of meetings under its own direct auspices.

From 1890 till 1914 there was no division of forces or difference of policy among the suffragists of the United States.

In 1913 the Congressional Committee formed the Congressional Union for the purpose of supporting the Committee in its work for the Federal Amendment, and the Congressional Union was admitted as an auxiliary of the National Association.

In 1914 a break with the National Association occurred because the Congressional Union refused to accede to certain established rules, and thereafter the Congressional Union became an independent body.

In 1916 the Congressional Union caused a convention to be assembled in Chicago and formed a Woman's Party. The National Woman's Party in its platform pledges itself "to use its united vote to secure the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment irrespective of the interests of any national political party, and pledges its unceasing opposition to all who oppose this amendment."

A rift in the organized suffrage forces of the nation was thus brought about, the National Association continuing its policy of working for both federal and state amendments, the Congressional Union and its outgrowth, the Woman's Party, working for the federal amendment only. The National continues to work on strictly non-partisan lines, while the Congressional Union holds "the party in power responsible," and as that party this year is the Democractic party, it has been the object of a western campaign which aimed to defeat Mr. Wilson and Democratic Congressmen.

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DIVISION III

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN CONGRESS

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

In 1875, Susan B. Anthony drafted the following Amendment, which in 1878 was introduced into Congress:

PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, CONFERRING UPON WOMEN THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT*

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:
1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:
January 25, 1887, yeas, 16; nays, 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas, 35; nays, 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:
January 12, 1915, yeas, 174; nays, 204.

*Reprinted from *Headquarters News Letter*, Dec. 30, 1916.

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INTRODUCED IN THE 64TH CONGRESS

IN THE SENATE:

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas.

Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE:

December 6, 1915, by Representatives Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden.

Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1.

Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 15, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7 on February 15, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments. On December 14, 1916, the Judiciary Committee reported the amendment without recommendation.

Status:

IN THE SENATE,
On the calendar awaiting action.

IN THE HOUSE,
Awaiting action.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(Known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1 and as House Joint Resolution No. 1)

IN THE SENATE

April 7, 1913 — Introduced in the Senate by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon. Referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

June 13, 1913 — Reported favorably in the Senate.

March 19, 1914 — Voted upon in the Senate.

"For the first time in history a favorable majority was given, but because a two-thirds vote is required, the Amendment was defeated. Of the 69 votes cast, 35 were for and 34 against, 11 short of the necessary number with that attendance. Nine Senators were paired in favor of the Amendment, bringing the indicated strength in the entire Senate to 44, or 20 votes short of the necessary number."

March 20, 1914 — Senator Bristow, of Kansas, reintroduced the Resolution in the Senate.

April 7, 1914 — Reported favorably in the Senate.

IN THE HOUSE

April 7, 1913 — Introduced in the House by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming; and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Jan. 12, 1915 — Voted upon in the House—yeas, 174; nays, 204. The necessary two-thirds would have been given by 78 more votes.

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The following detailed history of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the Sixty-third Congress is reprinted from the "Handbook" of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (1914):

HISTORY OF SUFFRAGE IN SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS
HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1

(The Federal Amendment)

April 7, 1913.

HOUSE RESOLUTION No. 9.—Creating a Committee of the House of Representatives, known as the Committee on Equal Suffrage. Introduced by Edward T. Taylor, of Colorado. Referred to the Committee on Rules. Congressional Record, page 47.

April 8, 1913.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1.—Introduced by Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Page 95, Congressional Record.

Jan. 24, 1914.

MEETING OF THE RULES COMMITTEE.—Members:
Robert L. Henry, Texas, Chairman; Edward W. Pou, North Carolina; Thomas W. Hardwick, Georgia; Finis J. Garrett, Tennessee; Martin D. Foster, Illinois; James C. Cantrill, Kentucky; Henry M. Goldfogle, New York; Philip P. Campbell, Kansas; Irvine L. Lenroot, Wisconsin; Edwin A. Merritt, Jr., New York; M. Clyde Kelly, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Lenroot moved to report House Resolution No. 9 favorably to the House. Only 8 members were present. The vote stood for Mr. Lenroot's motion:

FOR:	OPPOSED:
Foster, Illinois.	Hardwick, Georgia.
Campbell, Kansas.	Pou, North Carolina.
Kelly, Pennsylvania.	Cantrill, Kentucky.
Lenroot, Wisconsin.	Garrett, Tennessee.

Mr. Lenroot then moved to report the resolution without recommendation, and Hardwick offered as a substitute that action on this motion be postponed.

FOR POSTPONEMENT:	OPPOSED:
Pou, North Carolina.	Cantrill, Kentucky.
Hardwick, Georgia.	Lenroot, Wisconsin.
Garrett, Tennessee.	Campbell, Kansas.
Foster, Illinois.	Kelly, Pennsylvania.

Feb. 3, 1914.

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Called by signature of 51 names to petition requesting it, circulated by the Congressional Union.

Quotation from the Washington Post, Feb. 4th: "It had been given out yesterday that many members would sidestep the whole matter by remaining away from the caucus, and thus break a quorum. Just before the caucus was held, the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, who constitute the ruling body of the Democratic membership, met in Representative Oscar J. Underwood's office in the Capitol and resolved to take decisive action. Mr. Underwood counseled, it is understood, that it would be unwise to avoid the question longer, and that action should be final, as the Rules Committee for many months has been juggling with the proposition."

Representative John E. Baker, of California, offered a resolution calling for the creation of a Suffrage Committee in the House.

Representative J. Thomas Heflin, of Alabama, then moved a substitute:
"RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this caucus that the question of woman suffrage is a State and not a Federal question."

Mr. Baker spoke on the motion, Mr. Heflin moved the previous question and closed debate, and the vote was taken on Mr. Heflin's substitute, the motion being carried by a vote of 123 to 55, thus dictating to all Democrats in the House that suffrage should not be considered Federally, and was as follows:

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THOSE WHO SUPPORTED HEFLIN

Abercrombie	Cox	Stephens (Miss.)	Loft
Ainsberry	Dies	Taylor (Ark.)	Murray (Okla.)
Bartlett	Dooling	Vaughan	Page
Booher	Estopinal	Weaver	Post
Brown (W. Va.)	Gard	Witherspoon	Rothermel
Burnett	Allen	Gittins	Russell
Cantrill	Barnhart	Graham	Stanley
Collier	Bell	Gudger	Talcott
Dent	Brodbeck	Henry	Tuttle
Diffenderfer	Burgess	Howard	Watkins
Driscoll	Chandler	Key	Wilson (Fla.)
Finley	Clark (Mo.)	Lee (Ga.)	Baltz
Adamson	Cullop	Lieb	Gœke
Ashbrook	Dixon	Moss	Griffin
Bathrick	Doughton	Padgett	Hay
Borchers	Falson	Patten	Holland
Bruckner	Garrett (Tenn.)	Reilly (Wis.)	Humphreys
Byrnes (S. C.)	Garrett (Tex.)	Rucker	Kitchin
Carr	Gordon	Susson	Lesher
Conroy	Hammond	Talbott	Lonergan
Dickinson	Heflin	Ten Eyck	O'Brian
Donovan	Houston	Walker	Palmer
Edwards	Johnson (S. C.)	White	Quinn
Flood	Lazaro	Young	Rouse
Aiken	Lever	Glass	Saunders
Bailey	Morrison	Gregg	Stedman
Beakes	Oldfield	Hardwick	Taylor (Ala.)
Bowdle	Park	Hensley	Underwood
Buchanan (Tex.)	Rayburn	Hull	Watson
Galloway	Rubey	Kindel	Wilson (N. Y.)
Clark (Fla.)	Shackleford	Lee (Pa.)	

THOSE AGAINST THE SUBSTITUTE

Adair	Baker	Brown (N. Y.)	Carew
Buchanan (Ill.)	Church	Connelly (Kans.)	Crosser
Decker	Deitrich	Dershem	Donohoe
Doolittle	Evans	Fitzhenry	Foster
Francis	George	Gilmore	Goulden
Hayden	Keating	Kettner	Kinkaid
Levy	Lebeck	Logue	McAndrews
McDermott	Metz	Mitchell	Neely (W. Va.)
O'Hair	O'Shaunessy	Peterson	Rainey
Raker	Reed	Reilly (Conn.)	Sabath
Scully	Seldomridge	Sherwood	Smith (Md.)
Smith (N. Y.)	Stevens (N. Y.)	Stone	Stout
Stringer	Taylor (Colo.)	Taylor (N. Y.)	Thomas
Thompson	Townsend	Williams	

March 3, 1914.

HEARING BEFORE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

1 hour National American Woman Suffrage Association.
20 minutes Federal Equality Association.
1 hour Congressional Union.
2 hours Anti-Suffragists.

MEETING OF COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Motion made to report House Joint Resolution No. 1 out, without recommendation, with the Prohibition Amendment, made by Chandler, of New York.

After heated discussion, wherein the Committee objected to being the body to kill all unpopular bills, motion carried to report out the suffrage amendment, House Joint Resolution No. 1.

August 27, 1914.

MEETING OF HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE.—Campbell, of Kansas, moved that the House be given an opportunity to vote on the Bristow-Mondell resolution. To head this off, Pou moved to adjourn. Pou, Garrett and Campbell voted in favor of adjournment; Campbell, Goldfogle and Kelly against it. Henry then cast the deciding vote for adjournment.

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"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1."

April 7, 1913.
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1 (Federal Suffrage Amendment).—Introduced by George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon. Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage, Congressional Record, page 19. COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—(Hearings.)

Jan. —, 1914.
REPORTED BACK TO SENATE (Senate Report 64.) Congressional Record, page 19.
SENATE RESOLUTION No. 124.—To print additional copies of hearings before Committee on Woman Suffrage on subject of suffrage parade.

Dec. 19, 1913.
DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 1216.

Dec. 26, 1913.
DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 1665.

Jan. —, 1914.
DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 1814.

Jan. —, 1914.
DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 2076.

Jan. —, 1914.
UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT ASKED FOR—A vote on Senate Joint Resolution No. 1 objected to, pages 2076 and 2077.

Feb. 9, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 3328.

Feb. 20, 1914.
Page 3991.

Feb. 12, 1914.
RESOLUTION BY KEATING TO PRINT HEARINGS, BEFORE THE RULES COMMITTEE, ON THE RESOLUTION, HOUSE Resolution No. 411, TO CREATE A COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Referred to Committee on Printing, page 3556.

Feb. 17, 1914.
MR. BARNHART, ON COMMITTEE ON PRINTING, REPORTED RESOLUTION 411, WITH AMENDMENT.—Debated (by Barnhart, Mann, Madden and Fitzgerald), amended and agreed to. Page 3771.

Feb. —, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 3469.

Feb. 18, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 3840–48.

Feb. 27, 1914.
UNANIMOUS CONSENT OBJECTED TO.—Pages 4302–05.

Feb. 28, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4393.

March 2, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4435–39.

March 2, 1914.
Made unfinished business. Page 4440–46.

March 2, 1914.
VOTE.—Page 4442.

March 2, 1914.
VOTE.—Page 4444.

March 2, 1914.
VOTE.—Page 4445.

March 3, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4486–90.

March 4, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4530–34.

March 3, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4575.

March 3, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4562.

March 3, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4578–82.

March 2, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4585–93.

March 5, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4615–20.

March 6, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4656.

March 6, 1914.
Unanimous consent objected to. Pages 4659–62.

March 4, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 4704–08.

March 9, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4792.

March 9, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4795.

March 10, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4856.

March 11, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 4946.

March 13, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5132.

March 13, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5151.

March 16, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5231–33.

March 16, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5236.

March 17, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5278–83.

March 19, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5454–72.

March 19, 1914.
VOTES TAKEN AND REJECTED.—Page 5471.

March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5509.

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March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5559–66.
March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5566–68.
March 21, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5644.
March 21, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5648–58.
PETITIONS, MEMORIALS AND DEBATES.—8693, 9266, 10427, 10682, 11276, 12235, 12364, 12635, 12886, 12902, 17391.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 128
(The Shafroth-Palmer Amendment)

March 20, 1914.
INTRODUCED IN SENATE BY JOHN F. SHAFROTH, OF COLORADO.—Page 5519.
March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Pages 5519–22.
March 20, 1914.
VOTE ON REFERENCE TO COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY.—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Page 5520.
April 30, 1914.
REPORTED BACK.—Page 8059.
March 20, 1914.
BRISTOW RESOLUTION No. 130.—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Page 5522.
March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5522.
April 7, 1914.
REPORTED BACK.—Page 6777.
April 7, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 6777.
April 8, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 6854.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 130
(The Federal Suffrage Amendment)

March 20, 1914.
REINTRODUCED BY JOSEPH L. BRISTOW, OF KANSAS.—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Page 5522.
March 20, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 5522.
April 7, 1914.
REPORTED BACK TO SENATE AND DEBATED.—Page 6677.
April 8, 1914.
DEBATED.—Page 6854.

THE VOTE IN THE SENATE*
[March 19, 1914]

SENATORS FOR THE RESOLUTION—35

Ashurst, Ariz. (Dem.)
Brady, Idaho (Rep.)
Bristow, Kan. (Rep.)
Burton, Ohio (Rep.)
Chamberlain, Ore. (Dem.)
Clapp, Minn. (Rep.)
Clark, Wyo. (Rep.)
Gallinger, N. H. (Rep.)
Gronna, N. D. (Rep.)
Hollis, N. H. (Dem.)
Hughes, N. J. (Dem.)
Jones, Wash. (Rep.)
Kenyon, Ia. (Rep.)
La Follette, Wis. (Rep.)
Lane, Ore. (Dem.)
Lea, Tenn. (Dem.)
Myers, Mont. (Dem.)
Nelson, Minn. (Rep.)
Newlands, Nev. (Dem.)
Norris, Neb. (Rep.)
Owen, Okla. (Dem.)
Perkins, Cal. (Rep.)
Poindexter, Wash. (Prog.)
Ransdell, La. (Dem.)
Shafroth, Col. (Dem.)
Sheppard, Tex. (Dem.)
Sherman, Ill. (Rep.)
Smoot, Utah (Rep.)
Stephenson, Wis. (Rep.)
Sterling, S. D. (Rep.).
Sutherland, Utah (Rep.)
Thomas, Col. (Dem.)
Thompson, Kan. (Dem.)
Townsend, Mich. (Rep.)
Works, Cal. (Rep.)

SENATORS AGAINST THE RESOLUTION—34

Bankhead, Ala. (Dem.)
Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Bradley, Ky. (Rep.)
Brandegee, Conn. (Rep.)
Bryan, Fla. (Dem.)
Catron, N. Mex. (Rep.)
Dillingham, Vt. (Rep.)
du Pont, Del. (Rep.)
Gore, Okla. (Dem.)
James, Ky. (Dem.)
Johnson, Me. (Dem.)
Lee, Md. (Dem.)
Lodge, Mass. (Rep.)
McCumber, N. D. (Rep.)
McLean, Conn. (Rep.)
Martin, Va. (Dem.)
Martine, N. J. (Dem.)
Oliver, Pa. (Rep.)
Overman, N. C. (Dem.)
Page, Vt. (Rep.)
Pittman, Nev. (Dem.)
Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
Reed, Mo. (Dem.)
Shields, Tenn. (Dem.)
Smith, Ga. (Dem.)
Smith, Md. (Dem.)
Smith, S. C. (Dem.)
Swanson, Va. (Dem.)
Thornton, La. (Dem.)
Tillman, S. C. (Dem.)
Vardaman, Miss. (Dem.)
Weeks, Mass. (Rep.)
West, Ga. (Dem.)
Williams, Miss. (Dem.)

* List published in *The Woman's Journal*, March 23, 1915.

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NOT VOTING—26

Burleigh, Me. (Rep.)
Chilton, W. Va. (Dem.)
Clarke, Ark. (Dem.)
Colt, R. I. (Rep.)
Crawford, S. D. (Rep.)
Culberson, Tex. (Dem.)
Cummins, Ia. (Rep.)
Fall, N. Mex. (Rep.)
Fletcher, Fla. (Dem.)
Goff, W. Va. (Rep.)
Hitchcock, Neb. (Dem.)
Kern, Ind. (Dem.)
Lewis, Ill. (Dem.)
Lippitt, R. I. (Rep.)
O'Gorman, N. Y. (Dem.)
Penrose, Pa. (Rep.)
Robinson, Ark. (Dem.)
Root, N. Y. (Rep.)
Saulsbury, Del. (Dem.)
Shiveley, Ind. (Dem.)
Simmons, N. C. (Dem.)
Smith, Ariz. (Dem.)
Smith, Mich. (Rep.)
Stone, Mo. (Dem.)
Walsh, Mont. (Dem.)
Warren, Wyo. (Rep.)

THE VOTE IN THE HOUSE*

[January 12, 1915]

REPRESENTATIVES VOTING FOR FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Adair, Alexander, Anderson, Anthony, Austin, Avis, Baker, Barnhart, Bathrick, Bell, Calif.; Borchers, Borland, Britten, Brown, New York; Bryan, Buchanan, Ill.; Butler, Campbell, Carr, Casey, Chandler, Church, Clancy, Cline, Connolly, Copley, Cramton, Crosser, Curry, Davenport, Decker, Deitrick, Dershem, Dickinson, Dillon, Doolittle, Drukker, Eagan, Edmonds, Evans, Farr, Fergusson, Ferris, Fess, Fitzhenry, Fordney, Foster, Fowler, Francis, Frear, French, Gallagher, Gallivan, George, Gilmore, Good, Gorman, Graham, Penna.; Green, Iowa; Griest, Guernsey, Hamill, Hamilton, Mich.; Hamlin, Hart, Haugen, Hawley, Hayden, Hayes, Helgesen, Helvering, Hensley, Hill, Hobson, Howell, Hughes, W. Va.; Hulings, Humphrey, Wash.; Johnson, Wash.; Kahn, Keating, Keister, Kelley, Mich.; Kelly, Pa.; Kent, Kettner, Kiess, Kinkaid, Neb.; Kinkead, N. J.; Kirkpatrick, Knowland, Lafferty, LaFollette, Langley, Lindbergh, Lloyd, Logue, McAndrews, McGuire, McKellar, McKenzie, McLaughlin, MacDonald, Madden, Maher, Mann, Mapes, Martin, Metz, Mitchell, Mondell, Morgan, Okla.; Moss, Ind.; Mott, Murdock, Neeley, Kan.; Neely, W. Va.; Nelson, Nolan, Norton, O'Hair, O'Shaunessy, Palmer, Patton, Penna.; Peterson, Phelan, Porter, Prouty, Rainey, Raker, Reilly, Conn.; Roberts, Mass.; Rogers, Rubey, Rucker, Rupley, Russell, Sabath, Scully, Seldomridge, Sells, Shackleford, Sherwood, Sims, Sinnott, Slemp, Smith, Idaho; Smith, Maryland; J. M. C. Smith, Mich.; S. W. Smith, Mich.; Smith, New York; Smith, Minn.; Steenerson, Stephens, Calif.; Stevens, N. H.; Stone, Stout, Stringer, Sutherland, Taggart, Tavenner, Taylor, Colo.; Taylor, N. Y.; Temple, Thompson, Okla.; Thomson, Ill.; Towner, Treadway, Vare, Volstead, Walters, Williams, Woods, Young, N. D. Total, 174.

REPRESENTATIVES VOTING AGAINST FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Abercrombie, Adamson, Aiken, Ashbrook, Aswell, Bailey, Baltz, Barchfield, Barkley, Bartholdt, Bartlett, Beakes, Beall, Texas; Blackmon, Booher, Bowdle, Brockson, Broussard, Brown, W. Va.; Browne, Wis.; Browning, Brumbaugh, Buchanan, Tex.; Bulkley, Burgess, Burke, Pa.; Burke, S. D.; Burke, Wis.; Burnett, Byrnes, S. C.; Byrns, Tenn.; Calder, Callaway, Candler, Cantor, Cantrill, Caraway, Carew, Carlin, Carter, Cary, Clark, Fla.; Coady, Collier, Connolly, Ia.; Conry, Cooper, Cox, Crisp, Cullop, Danforth, Davis, Dent, Dies, Difenderfer, Dixon, Donohoe, Donovan, Dooling Doremus, Doughton, Driscoll, Dupre, Eagle, Edwards, Esch, Estopinal, Fairchild, Fields, Finley, Fitzgerald, Flood, Floyd, Gard, Gardner, Garner, Garrett, Tenn.; Garrett, Tex.; Gerry, Gill, Gillett, Gittins, Glass, Godwin, Goeke, Goodwin, Gordon, Goulden, Graham, Ill.; Gray, Greene, Mass.; Greene, Vt.; Gregg, Griffin, Gudger, Hamilton, N. Y.; Hardy, Harris, Harrison, Hay, Heflin, Helm, Henry, Hinds, Holland, Houston, Howard, Hughes, Ga.; Hull, Humphreys, Miss.; Jacoway, Johnson, Ky.; Johnson, S. C.; Kennedy, Conn.; Key, Kindel, Kitchin, Konop, Korbly, Langham, Lazaro, Lee, Ga.; Lee, Pa.; Lenroot, Lesher, Lever, Lewis, Md.; Lieb, Linthicum, Lobeck, Lonergan, McGillicuddy, Maguire, Neb.; Mahan, Miller, Montague, Moon, Moore, Morgan, La.; Morrison, Mulkey, Murray, Oldfield, Page, N. C.; Paige, Mass.; Park, Parker, N. J.; Parker, N. Y.; Patten, N. Y.; Platt, Plumley, Post, Pou, Price, Quin, Ragsdale, Rauch, Rayburn, Reed, Reilly, Wis.; Riordan, Rouse, Sherley, Sisson, Sloan, Small, Smith, Tex.; Sparkman, Stafford, Stedman, Stephens, Miss.; Stephens, Neb.; Stephens, Tex.; Stevens, Minn.; Sumners, Switzer, Talbott, Md.; Talcott, Taylor, Ala.; Taylor, Ark.; Thacher, Thomas, Tribble, Tuttle, Underhill, Underwood, Vaughan, Vinson, Vollmer, Walker, Wallin, Walsh, Watkins, Watson, Weaver, Webb, Whaley, Whitacre, White, Wingo, Winslow, Witherspoon, Young, Tex. Total, 204.

* List published in *The Woman's Journal*, January 16, 1915.

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ANALYSIS OF VOTE IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JAN. 12, 1915

[Reprinted from *Headquarters News Letter*, April, 1915.]

"The vote stood 174 in favor of the resolution, 204 against, with 46 members not voting. By parties the vote was as follows:

	Aye	No	Not Voting
Democrats	86	170	26
Republicans	76	34	16
Progressives	11	0	4
Independents	1	0	0
	174	204	46

Of those not voting 12 were paired in favor of the amendment.

VOTE FROM NON-SUFFRAGE STATES

It is important to note that of the 174 favorable votes, 116, or 66 per cent, came from non-suffrage States. The equal suffrage States (11 in number by this time) have 40 Representatives in Congress, and Illinois, with presidential and municipal suffrage, has 27 Representatives. Of this possible 67 votes, 3 were adverse, 5 were paired, and there was one vacancy, leaving 58 votes actually cast from equal suffrage States and 116 from non-suffrage States.

SOUTHERN VOTE

Of the total number of favorable votes, 23 came from Southern States as follows: Alabama, 1; Virginia, 1; Maryland, 1; West Virginia, 4; Tennessee, 4; Kentucky, 1; Missouri, 11.

Ten States voted solidly (not counting absentees) against the amendment. These were Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Vermont—all Southern States but two.

DEMOCRATIC VOTE

The large Democratic vote is notable in view of the fact that the Democratic caucus had declared against federal action on woman suffrage, and the majority leader, Mr. Underwood, of Alabama, made a speech during the debate preceding the vote in the House, calling upon the Democratic members to stand by their caucus action. *Notwithstanding these two efforts to hold the party as a party in line against federal action, 86 Democrats voted for the woman suffrage amendment,* thereby demonstrating their independence of caucus action.

Fifty-five of these Democrats were from States where women do not vote. To this number 15 States contributed: Alabama, 1; Connecticut, 1; Iowa, 1; Maryland, 1; Massachusetts, 5; Missouri, 11; New Hampshire, 1; New Jersey, 6; New York, 7; Ohio, 4; Oklahoma, 3; Pennsylvania, 5; Rhode Island, 1; Tennessee, 2; West Virginia, 1."

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VOTE IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 12, 1915*

The vote by States and by political parties on the Amendment was as follows:

States	For	Against	Not Voting
Alabama	1 (Dem.)	9 (Dem.)	..
Arkansas	..	7 (Dem.)	..
Arizona	1 (Dem.)	..	..
California	11 (6 Rep., 3 Dem., 1 Pro., 1 Ind.)	..	..
Colorado	3 (Dem.)	1 (Dem.)	..
Connecticut	1 (Dem.)	4 (Dem.)	..
Delaware	..	1 (Dem.)	..
Florida	..	2 (Dem.)	2
Georgia	..	11 (Dem.)	1
Idaho	2 (Rep.)	..	..
Illinois	22 (16 Dem., 5 Rep., 1 Pro.)	2 (Dem.)	2
Indiana	5 (Dem.)	8 (Dem.)	..
Iowa	7 (6 Rep., 1 Dem.)	2 (Dem.)	2
Kansas	8 (6 Rep., 1 Dem., 1 Pro.)	..	..
Kentucky	1 (Rep.)	8 (Dem.)	2
Louisiana	..	7 (Dem.)	1
Maine	1 (Rep.)	2 (1 Dem., 1 Rep.)	1
Maryland	1 (Dem.)	5 (Dem.)	..
Massachusetts	8 (5 Dem., 3 Rep.)	6 (5 Rep., 1 Dem.)	..
Michigan	9 (8 Rep., 1 Pro.)	2 (Dem.)	1
Minnesota	5 (Rep.)	3 (Rep.)	1
Mississippi	..	8 (Dem.)	..
Missouri	11 (Dem.)	3 (1 Rep., 2 Dem.)	1
Montana	2 (Dem.)	4 (3 Dem., 1 Rep.)	1
Nebraska	1 (Rep.)	..	1
Nevada	..	1 (Dem.)	..
New Hampshire	1 (Dem.)	4 (2 Dem., 2 Rep.)	1
New Jersey	7 (6 Dem., 1 Rep.)	..	..
New Mexico	1 (Dem.)	..	..
New York	9 (7 Dem., 1 Rep., 1 Pro.)	20 (13 Dem., 7 Rep.)	12
North Carolina	..	9 (Dem.)	1
North Dakota	3 (Rep.)	..	..
Ohio	5 (1 Rep., 4 Dem.)	12 (1 Rep., 11 Dem.)	2
Oklahoma	5 (2 Rep., 3 Dem.)	3 (Dem.)	..
Oregon	3 (Rep.)	..	..
Pennsylvania	20 (10 Rep., 5 Dem., 5 Pro.)	9 (5 Dem., 4 Rep.)	7
Rhode Island	1 (Dem.)	1 (Dem.)	1
South Carolina	..	7 (Dem.)	..
South Dakota	2 (Rep.)	1 (Rep.)	..
Tennessee	4 (2 Dem., 2 Rep.)	5 (Dem.)	..
Texas	..	18 (Dem.)	..
Utah	1 (Rep.)	..	1
Vermont	..	2 (Rep.)	..
Virginia	1 (Rep.)	7 (Dem.)	2
Washington	4 (1 Pro., 3 Rep.)	..	1
West Virginia	4 (1 Dem., 3 Rep.)	1 (Dem.)	1
Wisconsin	2 (Rep.)	9 (6 Rep., 3 Dem.)	..
Wyoming	1 (Rep.)	..	..
	174 (81 Dem., 81 Rep., 11 Pro., 1 Ind.)	204 (170 Dem., 34 Rep.)	

* Reprinted from *The Woman's Journal*, January 23, 1915.

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SIGNIFICANT COMPARISONS

In addition to the Woman Suffrage Amendment, two measures of especial interest to women were acted upon during the last session of the Sixty-third Congress. One was the Palmer-Owen Child Labor Bill, prohibiting inter-State traffic in the products of child labor; the other was the Hobson Amendment, providing for national prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. (See Table, pages 55 and 56.)

The Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association made a special report upon the attitude of the Representatives on these three questions. This was published in the *Headquarters News Letter*, April, 1915. The following is quoted:

"As the States Rights argument was used by the opposition to all three of the measures referred to above, we call your attention to the following facts as revealed by analysis of the roll-calls:

"1. Of the members who voted *for* the prohibition amendment, notwithstanding the States Rights issue involved, 72 voted *against* the woman suffrage amendment, and their spokesmen opposed the latter on States Rights grounds.

"2. Most of the opposition to the prohibition amendment came from *Northern* States, and it was their Representatives who on this occasion advanced the States Rights argument. The Southern members for the most part voted for the prohibition amendment, their spokesmen arguing the States Rights doctrine practically out of existence.

"3. On the other hand, most of the opposition to the woman suffrage amendment came from *Southern* members, who now used the States Rights argument, while *Northern* members for the most part disregarded it.

"4. All but one of the members who voted against the child labor bill had voted against the woman suffrage amendment, the States Rights argument being used both times.

"5. Not one of the members who voted against the child labor bill had voted against a bill passed some months earlier to regulate inter-State traffic in the products of convict labor."

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VOTE IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BY STATES, ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT, PROHIBITION AMENDMENT AND CHILD LABOR BILL ‡

NOTE.—At the time these questions were voted upon there were vacancies in Congress as follows: Illinois, 1; Massachusetts, 2; New York, 2; Ohio, 1. Between the time the prohibition amendment was voted upon (December 22, 1914) and the vote on the suffrage amendment (January 12, 1915), there were 4 resignations. This created a new vacancy in Minnesota, 1 in New York and 2 in Ohio, and explains the fact that the prohibition, suffrage and child labor columns for these States do not show the same total number of representatives.

STATE	Suffrage Amendment			Prohibition Amendment			Child Labor Bill		
	Aye	No	Not Voting	Aye	No	Not Voting	Aye	No	Not Voting
Alabama	1	9	.....	4	5	1	5	3	2
Arizona	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Arkansas	.....	7	.....	7	.....	.....	7	.....	.....
California	11	.....	.....	3	7	1	7	.....	4
Colorado	3	1	.....	4	.....	.....	2	.....	2
Connecticut	1	4	.....	.....	5	.....	4	.....	1
Delaware	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Florida	.....	2	2	2	.....	2	.....	1	3
Georgia	.....	11	1	8	3	1	1	9	2
Idaho	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
Illinois	22	2	2	11	13	2	18	1	7
Indiana	5	8	.....	.....	13	.....	11	.....	2
Iowa	7	2	2	8	2	1	6	.....	5
Kansas	8	.....	.....	6	.....	2	5	.....	3
Kentucky	1	8	2	7	4	.....	7	1	3
Louisiana	.....	7	1	1	6	1	5	.....	3
Maine	1	2	1	2	1	1	3	.....	1
Maryland	1	5	.....	2	4	.....	5	.....	1
Massachusetts	8	6	.....	1	13	.....	7	.....	7
Michigan	9	2	2	11	2	.....	9	.....	4
Minnesota	5	3	1	4	6	.....	5	.....	4
Mississippi	.....	8	.....	7	1	.....	2	6	.....

‡ Reprinted from the *News Letter*, April, 1915.

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VOTE IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BY STATES, ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT, PROHIBITION AMENDMENT AND CHILD LABOR BILL ‡—Continued

STATE	Suffrage Amendment			Prohibition Amendment			Child Labor Bill		
	Aye	No	Not Voting	Aye	No	Not Voting	Aye	No	Not Voting
Missouri	11	3	1	11	4	.....	12	.....	3
Montana	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
Nebraska	1	4	1	3	3	.....	5	.....	1
Nevada	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
New Hampshire	1	1	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....	1
New Jersey	7	4	1	1	10	1	5	1	5*
New Mexico	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
New York	9	20	11	3	31	7	12	.....	28
North Carolina	.....	9	1	6	1	2†	1	7	2
North Dakota	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....
Ohio	5	12	2	6	11	4	14	.....	5
Oklahoma	5	3	.....	6	.....	2	5	1	2
Oregon	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	2	.....	1
Pennsylvania	20	9	7	19	11	6	15	.....	21
Rhode Island	1	1	1	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3
South Carolina	.....	7	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	4	2†
South Dakota	2	1	.....	2	.....	1	3	.....	.....
Tennessee	4	5	1	9	.....	1	8	.....	2
Texas	.....	18	.....	4	12	2	11	6	1
Utah	1	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Vermont	.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	1	.....	1
Virginia	1	7	2	8	2	.....	6	2	1†
Washington	4	.....	1	5	.....	.....	3	.....	2
West Virginia	4	1	1	4	.....	2	1	.....	5
Wisconsin	2	9	.....	1	9	1	9	.....	2
Wyoming	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
	174	204	46	197	189	41	233	43	145

* One member not recorded. † Besides these, one member voting "present." ‡ Reprinted from the *News Letter*, April, 1915.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(Known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1 and as House Joint Resolution No. 1)

IN THE SENATE

Dec. 7, 1915 Introduced by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas. Referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

This Committee was composed of Senators Thomas of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Ransdell of Louisiana, Hollis of New Hampshire, Johnson of South Dakota, Sutherland of Utah, Jones of Washington, Clapp of Minnesota, Catron of New Mexico.

Jan. 8, 1916 Reported in the Senate with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE

Dec. 6, 1915 Introduced by Representatives Raker of California, Mondell of Wyoming, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, and Hayden of Arizona. Referred to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to sub-committee No. 1.

This Committee was composed of Representatives Carlin of Virginia, chairman; Gard of Ohio, Taggart of Kansas, Volstead of Minnesota and Morgan of Oklahoma.

Feb. 9, 1916 Reported to the Judiciary Committee by sub-committee No. 1, without recommendation.

Feb. 15, 1916 By a vote of 9 to 7 the Judiciary Committee returned the Amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14th. Those who voted against postponement were: Mr. Taggart of Kansas, Mr. Volstead of Minnesota, Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin, Mr. Chandler of New York, Mr. Thomas of Kentucky, Mr. Dale of New York, Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania.

Those who voted in favor of postponement to December were: Mr. Whaley of South Carolina, Mr. Webb of North Carolina, Mr. Carlin of Virginia, Mr. Walker of Georgia, Mr. Igoe of Missouri, Mr. Gard of Ohio, Mr. Williams of Illinois, Mr. Steele of Pennsylvania, Mr. Caraway of Arkansas.

March 14, 1916 The Judiciary Committee, by unanimous consent, agreed to take final committee action on the Amendment on March 28th.

March 28, 1916 The Judiciary Committee, by a vote of 9 to 10, postponed indefinitely all Constitutional Amendments.

Those who voted against postponement were: Mr. Taggart of Kansas, Mr. Thomas of Kentucky, Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma, Mr. Neely of West Virginia, Mr. Moss of West Virginia, Mr. Volstead of Minnesota, Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin, Mr. Dale of New York, Mr. Chandler of New York.

Those who voted for postponement were: Mr. Webb of North Carolina, Mr. Carlin of Virginia, Mr. Igoe of

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Missouri, Mr. Dyer of Missouri, Mr. Gard of Ohio, Mr. Whaley of South Carolina, Mr. Caraway of Arkansas, Mr. Steele of Pennsylvania, Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania, Mr. Danforth of New York.

From March 28th the Resolution remained in the Judiciary Committee. On December 14th it was reported from Committee without recommendation.

OTHER SUFFRAGE LEGISLATION IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS *

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESOLUTION

Jan. 24, 1916 — Senator Norris, of Nebraska, introduced in the Senate a resolution providing for the direct election of the President and Vice-President of the United States.

FEDERAL ELECTIONS BILL

Dec. 6, 1915 — Representative Raker, of California, introduced at the request of the Federal Suffrage Association a bill to protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators and Members of the House. The bill was referred to the Committee on the Election of the President, Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress.

Dec. 10, 1915 — The same bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Lane, of Oregon. It was referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Feb. 3, 1916 — *The United States Elections Bill.*

Introduced in the Senate by Senator Owen, at the request of Miss Laura Clay, of Kentucky. This bill aims to secure to women the right to vote for Senators and Representatives in Congress. It was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

March 3, 1916 — Senator Borah introduced an amendment to the Underwood amendment (to permit women as well as men to vote upon a District of Columbia prohibition measure).

May 15, 1916 — A favorable committee report was given in the Senate on the District Delegate Bill. This provides for the election of one Delegate to the House of Representatives by the citizens of the District of Columbia and establishes a system of election.

May 22, 1916 — The House had under consideration the Porto Rican bill, part of which deals with the suffrage in Porto Rico. Representative Mann, of Illinois, offered an amendment giving the women of Porto Rico suffrage on the same terms as men. This amendment was carried by a vote of 60–37. The following day the bill was taken up in the House, and the woman suffrage was lost by a vote of 59–80.

(A detailed account of Woman Suffrage in the Sixty-fourth Congress is contained in the Report of the Congressional Committee submitted at the Forty-eighth Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.) *

* Excerpts from the Report—see pages 89–91.

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DIVISION IV

ACTION UPON WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN STATE LEGISLATURES DURING 1916

"Nineteen hundred sixteen has been an off legislative year. Only 16 legislatures have had sessions, and some of these have sat for only a week, two weeks or a month. Eleven have been of long enough duration to get through a reasonable amount of legislation, and suffragists in these states have made the most of their opportunities. They have pushed both for suffrage legislation and for other legislation in the interests of women. The record of their defeats is as important as their successes."*

Georgia	Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 21; nays, 91. Senate hearing set for "August 17th"—the day after statutory adjournment of the Legislature.
Kentucky	Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 26; nays, 8. House—ayes, 46; nays, 45. (Lacked the necessary two-thirds majority required.) Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced—failed to pass.
Louisiana	Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 60; nays, 49. (Lacked two-thirds vote.)
Maryland	Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 17; nays, 7. (Passed by more than necessary three-fifths vote.) House—ayes, 36; nays, 64.
New York	Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—ayes, 33; nays, 10. House—ayes, 109; nays, 30. } Passed. Presidential and Municipal Suffrage: Senate—referred to Committee on Judiciary. House—referred to Committee on Judiciary.
New Jersey	Presidential Suffrage Bill introduced and referred to Committee on Judiciary. Unfavorably reported.
Oklahoma	Suffrage Amendment.....Senate—Received an adverse report. House—ayes, 62; nays, 15.
R. Island	Presidential Suffrage Bill..Died in Committee.
S. Carolina	Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 51; nays, 61.
Virginia	Suffrage Amendment.....House—ayes, 40; nays, 51.

"To these may be added the bill (Poindexter Bill) introduced into Congress to restore the franchise to citizens of the District of Columbia, which includes women in its terms. This bill was reported favorably by the District Committee.

"This record shows that almost all those states whose legislatures were sitting have introduced suffrage bills this year. Seven of these and the District of Columbia Bill were for full voting rights; two, Rhode Island and New Jersey, were for Presidential Suffrage, and New York had this form of bill as well as the Amendment before the legislature. In New York alone did any of these bills pass, so New York promises, if a 1917 legislature is equally favorable, to be again in campaign in 1917.

"In Kentucky, Maryland and Oklahoma the suffrage bill passed the Senate and in Louisiana only the constitutional two-thirds rule prevented passage in the House . . . "*

**Headquarters News Letter*, October, 1916.

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PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

RECORD OF ACTION UPON PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE BILLS IN STATE LEGISLATURES

(The information in this Table has been obtained from the Data Department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.)

The record is as complete as possible to make it at present.

State	Year	Legislature
Indiana	1873	Bill introduced and "laid on table."
	1881	Bill lost by 4 votes in Senate and by 2 in House.
	1892	Bill reported unfavorably in House.
	1907	Bill reported favorably.
	1908	No action.
	1915	Bill passed in Senate..Yeas, 37; nays, 3. In House it did not get out of Committee.
Massachusetts	1882	Bill in House.....Yeas, 66; nays, 107. Refused a third reading. No vote in Senate.
	1888	No action.
	1892	Vote not recorded.
	1897	Bill lost without roll call.
	1900	Bill voted down without a roll call.
Iowa	1892	Bill reported unfavorably in House; not reported in Senate.
	1906	Bill failed to pass.
	1915	Bill indefinitely postponed.
Rhode Island	1892	Bill not reported.
	1902	Bill introduced.
	1904	Bill defeated in House without a roll call. Senate.....Yeas, 10; nays, 24.
	1905	Bill introduced in Senate—no vote; not introduced in House.
	1906	Bill introduced in Senate. Left in files of Committee.
	1907	Bill in Senate.....Yeas, 19; nays, 16. House.....No vote.
	1908	No vote in either House.
	1909	Bill failed in Senate; postponed in House.
	1910	Bill not reported in House; indefinitely postponed in Senate.
	1911	Bill introduced in House and "laid on table"; not introduced in Senate.
	1912	Bill in House; not reported from Committee.
	1914	Three bills introduced in Senate, but never reported from Committee. The same in House.
	1915	Bill introduced in Senate, but remained in Committee; indefinitely postponed in House.
	1916	Bill introduced, but died in Committee.
South Carolina	1895	Reported unfavorably by Committee.
	1896	Bill not reported.
Kansas	1897	Bill not reported.
	1901	Bill in Senate.....Yeas, 22; nays, 13. House.....Yeas, 14; nays, 23.
	1902	Bill failed to secure a majority.
	1903	Bill killed in Committee.
	1904	Bill defeated in House and Senate.
	1905	Bill passed in House...Yeas, 65; nays, 49. Defeated in Senate.
	1909	Bill introduced.
Connecticut	1897	Bill introduced but not voted upon.
	1906	Bill defeated.
West Virginia	1900	Bill defeated in House by 6 votes; tabled in Senate.
	1903	Bill introduced.

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Kentucky	1902	Bill introduced in Senate, but no vote.
Minnesota	1915	Bill not voted upon on account of a crowded calendar.
Vermont	1903	Bill failed in both Houses.
	1915	Bill passed in Senate..Yeas, 29; nays, 10. House.....Yeas, 100; nays, 129.
Illinois	1897	Bill failed.
	1908	"Bill to grant women as much suffrage as the Legislature has power to bestow without a constitutional amendment." Vote not recorded in Senate; bill smothered in House.
	1909	Bill similar to the above, failed.
	1913	**Similar Bill passed.** **Senate.....Yeas, 29; nays, 15.** **House.....Yeas, 83; nays, 58.**
Wisconsin	1915	Bill introduced and indefinitely postponed.
Michigan	1915	"Considered unconstitutional."
North Dakota	1915	Bill passed by House. Senate.....Yeas, 18; nays, 24.
South Dakota	1915	Bill introduced and reported only.
New York	1916	Bill introduced in Senate. Referred to Committee on Judiciary; no report. Introduced in House. Referred to Committee on Judiciary; no report.
New Jersey	1916	Bill introduced in Senate. Referred to Committee on Judiciary and unfavorably reported. Motion to reconsider and advance to second reading voted down by 10 to 3.

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

(Passages from the Report of Mrs. Robert Huse, Chairman of the Presidential Suffrage Committee, N. A. W. S. A.)

"The fact that only twelve Legislatures sat in 1916, including the Federal Congress, which legislates for the District of Columbia—has limited efforts in behalf of Presidential suffrage during this year.

Bills were introduced in New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Kentucky. In New York the bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and a public hearing was held, but the bill was never reported out of Committee. The situation was complicated in this State by the fact that there was another bill before the Legislature, providing for a referendum on equal suffrage in 1917.

In New Jersey, the bill was referred to the Committee on Elections, and a public hearing was held, but the bill was unfavorably reported.

Rhode Island also had a bill submitted, but it died in Committee.

In Kentucky, a bill was introduced carrying a provision for Presidential suffrage. A public hearing was held on it—it was favorably reported out of committee and voted on, but it did not carry.

These were the only States where bills for Presidential suffrage were introduced. The advantages of this form of bill are numerous, and it is hard to see why more bills of this character have not been introduced in State Legislatures in past years.

For the benefit of those who have never considered this form of suffrage bill, the two points on which its constitutionality rests may be briefly stated.

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The Constitution of the United States provides, in Article II., Sec. 2, that 'Each State shall appoint, in such manner as a Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors' whose duty it is to meet and cast the vote for President and Vice-President of the United States. The Constitution further states, in Article VI., Sec. 2, that 'This Constitution shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges of every State shall be bound thereby. Anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.'

No subsequent amendments have altered these provisions of the Federal Constitution· it still remains a supreme law of the land, and in this one form of suffrage it still delegates to the State Legislature power to decide in what manner the Presidential electors of the several States shall be appointed. This provision establishes the constitutionality of a Presidential suffrage bill in any State, and answers the question as to whether the conflicting provisions in State Constitutions could be overcome. . . "

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CHART SHOWING REQUIREMENTS FOR THE ADOPTION OF STATE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN NON-SUFFRAGE STATES.

Compiled by the Data Department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

NON-SUFFRAGE STATES	When does next Regular Session of Legislature Begin?	Can an Amendment be Proposed by Initiative Petition?	Must Amendment Pass One or Two Legislatures?	How Large a Vote Must Amendment Receive in the Legislature?	How Often Does the Legislature Meet?	What is the Earliest Election at which Amendment can be Submitted?	How Large a Vote Must Amendment Receive?	Constitutional Conventions and Remarks
Alabama.....	Jan. 1919		One	3/5 in each House.	Quadrennially	Next general election unless Legislature orders a special election.	Majority of persons voting at the election.	Convention called by Legislature and by popular vote.
Arkansas.....	Jan. 1917	Yes (8%)	One	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Next election for Senators and Representatives.	Majority of persons voting at the election.	No provision for Constitutional Convention.
Connecticut.....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority of Representatives—1st time; 2/3 in each House—2nd time.	Biennially	Special election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	No provision for Constitutional Convention.
Delaware.....	Jan. 1917		Two	2/3 in each House.	Biennially			Amendment becomes law by vote of Legislature; the Constitution may also be amended by Convention.
Florida.....	Jan. 1917		One*	3/5 in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	Constitutional Convention may be held when voted by 2/3 in each House, and approved by majority of electors.

*Or may be passed by Constitutional Convention with referendum.

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CHART SHOWING REQUIREMENTS FOR THE ADOPTION OF STATE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN NON-SUFFRAGE STATES—*Continued*

NON-SUFFRAGE STATES	When does next Regular Session of Legislature Begin?	Can an Amendment be Proposed by Initiative Petition?	Must Amendment Pass One or Two Legislatures?	How Large a Vote Must Amendment Receive in the Legislature?	How Often Does the Legislature Meet?	What is the Earliest Election at which Amendment can be Submitted?	How Large a Vote Must Amendment Receive?	Constitutional Conventions and Remarks
Georgia.....	June 1917		One*	2/3 in each House.	Annually	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	Constitutional Convention may be held when voted by 2/3 in each House.
Indiana.....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting at the election.	No provision for a Constitutional Convention.
Iowa.....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting for Representatives.	
Kentucky.....	Jan. 1918		One	3/5 in each each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	Constitutional Convention called by majority of Legislature and majority of voters. Only two amendments may be submitted at a time, and the same one not oftener than once in five years.

[1] The American Year Book (1910).
* Or may be passed by Constitutional Convention with referendum.

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Louisiana.....	Mar. 1918		One	2/3 in each House.	Biennially	Next election for Senators and Representatives.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	No provision for a Constitutional Convention.
Maine.....	Jan. 1917		One*	2/3 concurrent vote in both Houses.	Biennially	Next annual Town Meeting.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	Convention called by 2/3 vote of Legislature.[1]
Maryland.....	Jan. 1918		One	3/5 in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	Constitutional Convention once in twenty years.
Massachusetts....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority in Senate; 2/3 in House.	Annually	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	No provision for Constitutional Convention.
Michigan.....	Jan. 1917	Yes (10%)	One*	2/3 in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	Convention called by Legislature and by popular vote.[1] Suffrage undoubtedly carried in 1912, but was fraudulently counted out.
Minnesota.....	Jan. 1917		One	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting at the election.	Convention called by 2/3 of Legislature and by popular vote.[1]
Mississippi.....	Jan. 1918		One	2/3 in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting at the election.	No provision for Constitutional Convention.

[1] The American Year Book (1910).
* Or may be passed by Constitutional Convention with referendum.

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CHART SHOWING REQUIREMENTS FOR THE ADOPTION OF STATE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN NON-SUFFRAGE STATES—*Continued*

NON-SUFFRAGE STATES	When does next Regular Session of Legislature Begin?	Can an Amendment be Proposed by Initiative Petition?	Must Amendment Pass One or Two Legislatures?	How Large a Vote Must Amendment Receive in the Legislature?	How Often Does the Legislature Meet?	What is the Earliest Election at which Amendment can be Submitted?	How Large a Vote Must Amendment Receive?	Constitutional Conventions and Remarks
Missouri.....	Jan. 1917	Yes, 8% in at least 2/3 of the Congressional Districts.	One*	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	If submitted by petition it must have a majority of all votes cast at election. Constitutional Convention may be held any time.
Nebraska.....	Jan. 1917	Yes, 15% and 5% in 2/5 of the Counties.	One	3/5 in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting at the election.	If submitted by petition the Amendment must receive at least 35% of the total vote cast at the election.
New Hampshire..	Constitution amended only once in seven years, if approved by majority of voters. Does not have to come before Legislature.				Biennially		Majority vote (2/3).	Constitutional Convention can only propose amendments.

* Or may be passed by Constitutional Convention with referendum.

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New Jersey.....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority in each House.	Annually	Special election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	No provision for Constitutional Convention. No Amendment may be submitted oftener than once in five years.
New Mexico.....	Jan. 1917		One	3/4 in each House.	Biennially	Next general election after adjournment of Legislature, or a special election not less than six months after adjournment.	3/4 of all persons voting at the election; 2/3 in each county.	After twenty-five years only a 2/3 vote of legislators or electors will be required.
New York.....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority in each House.	Annually	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	
North Carolina...	Jan. 1917		One*	3/5 in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	Convention called by 2/3 of each House and by popular vote.[1]
North Dakota....	Jan. 1918	Yes, 25% in 1/2 counties.	Two	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	
Ohio.....	Jan. 1917	Yes, 10% in State, and 5% in 1/2 counties.	One*	3/5 in each House.	Biennially	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	3% petition possible if filed ten days before Legislature meets. If passed it is subject to referendum. If not, 3% more signatures will secure submission..

[1] The American Year Book (1910)

* Or may be passed by Constitutional Convention with referendum.

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CHART SHOWING REQUIREMENTS FOR THE ADOPTION OF STATE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN NON-SUFFRAGE STATES—*Continued*

NON-SUFFRAGE STATES	When does next Regular Session of Legislature Begin?	Can an Amendment be Proposed by Initiative Petition?	Must Amendment Pass One or Two Legislatures?	How Large a Vote Must Amendment Receive in the Legislature?	How Often Does the Legislature Meet?	What is the Earliest Election at which Amendment can be Submitted?	How Large a Vote Must Amendment Receive?	Constitutional Conventions and Remarks
Oklahoma.....	Jan. 1917	Yes (15%)	One	Majority in each House. 2/3 vote would secure a special election.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting at the election.	Any Amendment submitted by petition may not be voted on oftener than once in three years. If defeated it must have a 25% petition for resubmission.
Pennsylvania.....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting at the election.	No provision for Constitutional Convention. Same Amendment may be submitted only once in five years.
Rhode Island.....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority in each House.	Annually	Next annual Town meeting.	3/5 of all voting at election.	No Constitutional Convention.
South Carolina...	Jan. 1917		Two*	2/3 in each House.	Annually	Next election for Senators and Representatives.	Majority of persons voting at election for Representatives.	Constitutional Convention may be held whenever approved by 2/3 vote in Legislature and majority voting at next election of Representatives.

* Must be passed by one before submission to people and by another after ratification by them.

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South Dakota....	Jan. 1917		One*	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	Constitutional Convention held at any time if approved by 2/3 vote in Legislature and majority voting at next election of Legislature.
Tennessee.....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority 1st time; 2/3 2nd time.	Biennially	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting for Representatives.	Same Amendment may be submitted only once in six years.
Texas.....	Jan. 1917		One	2/3 in each House.	Biennially	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	No provision for Constitutional Convention. There is some authority for the claim that women can be enfranchised by act of Legislature alone.
Vermont.....	Jan. 1917		Two	House majority: Senate 2/3 1st time. Majority in each House 2nd time.	Biennially	Next election for Senators and Representatives.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	No provision for Constitutional Convention. Constitution may be amended only once in ten years.
Virginia.....	Feb. 1918		Two	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	
West Virginia.....	Mar. 1917		One*	2/3 in each House.	Biennially	Next general election.	Majority of persons voting on the Amendment.	Constitutional Convention called by Legislature and popular vote.[1]
Wisconsin.....	Jan. 1917		Two	Majority in each House.	Biennially	Time to be fixed by Legislature.	Majority of persons voting at the election.	Legislature may submit suffrage by referendum to voters at next general election. Must have majority of all votes cast at election.

* Or be may passed by Constitutional Convention with referendum.

[1] American Year Book, 1910.

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DIVISION V

SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS* IN THE UNITED STATES

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Honorary President..... ...DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW
President.....MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

National Headquarters.....171 Madison Avenue, New York
Washington Headquarters....1626 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, D. C.

AFFILIATED MEMBERS

ALABAMA—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Julian Parke, Selma.
ARKANSAS—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. O. F. Ellington, Little Rock.
CALIFORNIA—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith, 2701 Ridgeroad, Berkeley.
COLORADO—Equal Suffrage Association.
Acting President....Mrs. John McPherson, 155 South Emerson Street, Denver.
COLORADO—Susan B. Anthony League.
President.....Mrs. Harriet B. Wright, Denver, Colorado.
CONNECTICUT—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Thos. N. Hepburn, 55 Pratt Street, Hartford.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Grace Gallatin Seton, Greenwich.
DELAWARE—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Mary C. Brassington, 902 Van Buren Street, Wilmington.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—State Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Miss Mary O'Toole, Hibbs Building, Washington.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Woman Suffrage Council.
President.....Miss Caroline L. DuPuy, Munsey Building, Washington.
FLORIDA—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Miss Mary Safford, Orlando.
FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.
President.....Mrs. O. Edward Janney, 825 Newington Avenue, Baltimore.
GEORGIA—Equal Suffrage Party.
President.....Mrs. Emily C. McDougald, 87 East 15th Street, Atlanta.
GEORGIA—Woman's Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Mary I. McLendon, 139 Washington Street, Atlanta.
GEORGIA—Woman Suffrage League.
President.....Mrs. Frances Smith Whiteside, 46 Columbia Avenue, Atlanta.
ILLINOIS—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. H. M. Brown, 2502 N. Main Street, Peoria.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, 414 Forest Avenue, Oak Park.
ILLINOIS—Chicago Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. James W. Morrisson, 719 Rush Street, Chicago.
ILLINOIS—Evanston Political Equality League.
President.....Mrs. Estelle H. Boot, 1945 Sherman Avenue, Evanston.
INDIANA—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Anna Dunn Noland, 424½ Broadway, Logansport.
INDIANA—Woman's Franchise League.
President.....Dr. Amelia R. Keller, 816 Odd Fellows Building, Indianapolis.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Grace Julian Clark, 115 South Audubon Road, Indianapolis.
IOWA—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Miss Flora Dunlap, Roadside Settlement, Des Moines.

*Local Associations are not listed.

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KANSAS—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. W. Y. Morgan, Hutchinson.
KENTUCKY—Equal Rights Association.
President.....Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, Richmond.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Miss Laura Clay, 189 North Mill Street, Lexington.
LOUISIANA—Equal Suffrage League.
President.....Mrs. A. B. Singletary, Drusilla Lane, Baton Rouge.
LOUISIANA—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Miss Jean Gordon, 1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans.
LOUISIANA—Woman Suffrage Party.
President.....Mrs. Sake Meehan, 1620 Louisiana Avenue, New Orleans.
MAINE—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. George S. Hunt, 165 State Street, Portland.
MARYLAND—Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore.
President.....Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, 107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore.
MARYLAND—Just Government League.
President.....Mrs. Donald Hooker, Upland, Roland Park.
MARYLAND—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, 1631 Eutaw Street, Baltimore.
MASSACHUSETTS—Political Equality Union.
President.....Miss Mabel Gillespie, 1301 Washington Street, Boston.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Miss Anne Paul, 1301 Washington Street, Boston.
MASSACHUSETTS—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, 3 Monadnock Street, Dorchester.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Gertrude Halladay Leonard, 413 Hammond Street, Chestnut Hill.
MICHIGAN—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Orton H. Clark, Kalamazoo.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Wilbur Brotherton, 106 Pingree Avenue, Detroit.
MINNESOTA—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Andreas Ueland, Colham Boulevard, Minneapolis.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. J. C. Holman, 557 Dayton Avenue, St. Paul.
MISSISSIPPI—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Miss Pauline V. Orr, Columbus.
MISSOURI—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. John R. Leighty, 1301 Manheim Road, Kansas City.
MONTANA—State Central Committee.
President.....Miss Jeannette Rankin, Missoula.
NATIONAL COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.
President.....Miss M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Ethel P. Howes, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN VOTERS.
President.....Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe.
NATIONAL MEN'S LEAGUE.
President.....Mr. James Lees Laidlaw, 26 Broadway, New York City.
NEBRASKA—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. W. E. Barkley, Lincoln.
NEVADA—Nevada Voters' Club, Inc.
President.....Miss Felice Cohn, Carson City.
NEW HAMPSHIRE—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Miss Martha S. Kimball, Portsmouth.
NEW JERSEY—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. E. F. Feickert, Plainfield.
NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY.
Chairman.....Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, 303 Fifth Avenue.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Raymond Brown, 303 Fifth Avenue.
NORTH CAROLINA—Equal Suffrage League.
President.....Mrs. Charles Malcolm Platt, Asheville.
NORTH DAKOTA—Votes for Women League.
President.....Mrs. Robert Clendenning, Wimbledon.
OHIO—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren.
OKLAHOMA—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Adelia G. Stephens, 723 West California Street, Oklahoma City.

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OREGON—Equal Suffrage League.
President.....Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, Stevens Building, corner Park and Washington, Portland.
PENNSYLVANIA—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. George B. Orlady, Huntington.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Joseph Head, Germantown.
RHODE ISLAND—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Barton Jenks, 448 Butler Street, Providence.
RHODE ISLAND—Woman Suffrage Party.
President.....Mrs. Sara M. Algeo, 394 Angell Street, Providence.
SOUTH CAROLINA—Equal Suffrage League.
President.....Mrs. Harry Pole Lynch, Cheraw.
SOUTH DAKOTA—Universal Franchise League.
President.....Mrs. John Pyle, Huron.
TENNESSEE—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. James McCormack, 7 So. McLean Boulevard, Memphis.
TENNESSEE—Equal Suffrage Association, Inc.
President.....Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Nashville.
TEXAS—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, 3128 Avenue 0½, Galveston.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Miss Marion B. Fenwick, 204 Pecan Street, San Antonio.
UTAH—State Suffrage Council of Women.
President.....Mrs. Emily Richards, 175 A Street, Salt Lake City.
VERMONT—Equal Suffrage Association.
President.....Dr. Grace Sherwood, St. Albans.
VIRGINIA—Equal Suffrage League.
President.....Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, 2338 Monument Avenue, Richmond.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. John H. Lewis, 609 Court Street, Richmond.
WASHINGTON—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. George A. Smith, Smith and Alki Streets, Seattle.
WEST VIRGINIA—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Ellis A. Yost, Morgantown.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Miss Elsie B. Murphy, "Claymont," Charlestown.
WISCONSIN—Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Henry Youmans, Waukesha.
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Ben Hooper, Oshkosh.

NATIONAL COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

President.....Miss M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
Mem. Ex. Coun.....Mrs. Ethel P. Howes, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

NATIONAL MEN'S LEAGUE

President.....Mr. James Lees Laidlaw, 26 Broadway, New York City

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

National Headquarters.....Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

National Executive Committee

Miss Alice Paul, N. J., Chairman.
Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y., Vice-Chairman.
Mrs. O. P. Belmont, N. Y.
Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Kansas.
Mrs. John W. Brannan, N. Y.
Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.
Mrs. William Kent, Cal.
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.
Miss Anne Martin, Nev.

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SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

Headquarters.....417 Camp Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

OFFICERS

President.....MISS KATE M. GORDON
Vice-President.....MISS LAURA CLAY
Corresponding Secretary.....MRS. H. B. BARTLETT
Treasurer.....MRS. IDA PORTER-BOYER

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

National Headquarters.....Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

Officers

Miss Anne Martin, Nev., Chairman.
Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, Cal., Vice-Chairman.
Miss Alice Paul, N. J., Ex-officio.
Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., Secretary.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

At the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association held in Washington, D. C., in 1913, it was decided to form a stock company to publish all literature for the National Association and to supply literature and novelties to the suffrage organizations throughout the country. In pursuance of this plan the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company was incorporated under the laws of New York State in January, 1914. The objects of the corporation, as stated in the articles of incorporation, are "To carry on in the State of New York and elsewhere a general printing and publishing business," and . . . "To manufacture, produce, sell and deal in any and all articles and materials which may be used in connection with the said printing and publishing business."

During the three years of its existence the Company's business has steadily increased until it has become the largest distributing agent in the country for suffrage literature and supplies. In addition to publishing millions of leaflets and pamphlets, the Company has brought out two books* during the past year and is planning a National Suffrage Library, the first three volumes of which will be issued in 1917. The offices of the Company are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The directors for 1917 are: Miss Esther G. Ogden, President; Mrs. Cyrus W. Field, Vice-President. Miss Helen Potter, Treasurer and Secretary; Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs; Arthur L. Livermore, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees.

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*Laws Affecting Women and Children.
History, Arguments and Results, Revised Edition.

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DIVISION VI

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE

Formation and Progress

"The preliminary steps to the foundation of a federation of National Associations working in their different countries for the establishment of the suffrage for women were taken at a conference held in Washington, U. S. A., in 1902, when representatives were present from seven different countries, namely, Australia, Canada, Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, and the United States of America.

A provisional Committee was formed which arranged a second Congress at Berlin, in 1904, at which time all the National Suffrage Associations in the world, nine in number, united to form a permanent organization called the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Subsequent Congresses were held in 1906 at Copenhagen with eleven countries represented; in 1908 at Amsterdam with fifteen countries represented; in 1909 at London with twenty countries represented; in 1911 at Stockholm with twenty-three countries represented."*

In 1913 the organizations of twenty-six countries were affiliated with the Alliance.

The Seventh Congress of the Alliance was held in Budapest, June, 15–21, 1913.

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT

Carrie Chapman Catt.....2 West 86th St., New York City, U. S. A.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Millicent Garrett Fawcett, LL.D.....2 Gower St., London, England

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

Annie Furuhjelm.....Helsingfors, Finland

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT

Anna Lindemann.....Degerloch, Stuttgart, Germany

FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT

Marguerite De Witt de Schlumberger, 14 Rue Pierre Charron, Paris, France

FIRST CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Katharine Dexter McCormick
393 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

SECOND CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Jane Brigode.....232 Ave. Albert, Brussels, Belgium

FIRST RECORDING SECRETARY

Chrystal MacMillan,
The Ladies' Caledonian Club, 39 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, Scotland

* "Woman Suffrage in Practice," 1913, p. 155.

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SECOND RECORDING SECRETARY
Marie Stritt.....17 Reissigerstrasse, Dresden, Germany

FIRST TREASURER
Adela Stanton Coit.....30 Hyde Park Gate, London, England

SECOND TREASURER
Signe Bergman.....10a Arsenalsgatan, Stockholm, Sweden

HEADQUARTERS SECRETARY
Mary Sheepshanks.....11 Adam St , Adelphi, London, England

The official organ of the Alliance is the International Woman Suffrage News (formerly Jus Suffragii). Published monthly.*

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS

AUSTRALIA—Women's Political Association.
President.....Miss Vida Goldstein, 229, Collins Street, Melbourne.
BELGIUM—Fédération Belge pour le Suffrage des Femmes.
President.....Mme. Jane Brigode, 232 Avenue Albert, Bruxelles.
BULGARIA—Woman's Rights Alliance.
President.....Mme. I. Malinoff, Uliza Graf-Ignatieff 11, Sofia.
CANADA—Dominion Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Dr. M. Gordon, 726, Spadina Avenue, Toronto.
CHINA—National Woman Suffrage Association.
DENMARK—Danske Kvindeforeningers Valgretsforbund.
President.....Frk. Eline Hansen, 6, Falldevej, Copenhagen.
Danske Landsforbundet.
President.....Fru Elna Munch, 138, Osterbrogade, Copenhagen.
FINLAND—Federation of Auxiliaries.
Chairman.....Frk. Annie Furuhjelm, M.P., Helsingfors.
FRANCE—L'Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes.
President.....Mme. de Witt de Schlumberger, 14, Rue Pierre Charron, Paris.
GERMANY—Deutscher Reichs-Verband für Frauenstimmrecht.
President.....Frau Marie Stritt, 17, Reissigerstrasse, Dresden-A.
GREAT BRITAIN—National Union of Women Suffrage Societies.
President.....Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, LL.D., 2, Gower Street, London, W.C.
HUNGARY—Feministák Egyesülete.
President.....Fräulein Vilma Glücklich, Maria Valéria-utca 12, Budapest V
ICELAND—
President.....Fru Briet Asmundsson, Reikjavik.
ITALY—Comitato Nazionale per il Voto alla Donna.
Cor. Secretary.....Prof. Anita Dobelli-Zampetti, Via Nomentana 96 B. Villino Celli, Rome.
NETHERLANDS—Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.
President.....Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Amsterdam.
NORWAY—Landskvindestemmeretsforeningen.
President.....Fru F. M. Qvam, Gjævran per Stenkjaer.
PORTUGAL—Associacao de Propaganda Feminista.
President.....Mme. Jeanne d'Almeida Nogueira.
ROUMANIA—National Suffrage Association.
President.....Mme. Eugenie de Reus Jancoulesco, Bucarest.
RUSSIA—League for the Equality of Women's Rights.
President.....Mme. P. Schischkina Yavein, M.D., 20, Snamenskaya, Petrograd.
SERVIA—Szpshi narodni zenski Saves.
Secretary.....Mlle. Hélène Losanitch, 21, Rue Dobratchina, Belgrade.

* See page 194.

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SOUTH AFRICA—Women's Enfranchisement Association.
President.....Lady Steel, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
SWEDEN—Landsforeningen för Kvinnans Politiska Rösträtt.
President.....Frk. Signe Bergman, Grevmagnigatan 15, Stockholm.
SWITZERLAND—Verband für Frauenstimmrecht.
President.....Mlle. Emilie Gourd, Pregny-Geneva.
THE UNITED STATES—National American Woman Suffrage Association.
President.....Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

AFFILIATED COMMITTEES

AUSTRIA—Oesterreichisches Frauenstimmrechts Komitee.
Frau E. von Furth, Reichsratstrasse 7, Vienna 1.
BOHEMIA—
Secretary.....Miss Frantiska Plaminkova, Vybor pro volebni pràvo zen, Prague, 1, Staromestske nàm. cis 8 III p.
GALICIA—Polish Woman Suffrage Committee.
President.....Mme. Hedvige Tomicka, Wulecka 2, Lemberg.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this Federation shall be the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

ARTICLE II

OBJECT

The object of this Alliance shall be to secure enfranchisement for the women of all nations, and to unite the friends of Woman Suffrage throughout the world in organized co-operation and fraternal helpfulness.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERS

Sec. 1. One National Woman Suffrage Association, or one Joint Committee of National Woman Suffrage Associations as defined in Article III., Section 3, in a country possessing the authority to enfranchise its own women, may become Auxiliary to the Alliance, and thus secure representation by twelve delegates in all International Meetings. Each Auxiliary National Association having 2,500 members or under shall pay £1 annually to the Alliance; National Auxiliaries having more than 2,500 members shall pay £2 annually. Each Association represented in the Joint Committee of National Woman Suffrage Associations shall pay at the rate of a National Auxiliary.

Sec. 2. To gain admission into the Alliance, applicant Societies must be National Associations which possess the following qualifications:

(a) They must make the demand for the enfranchisement of women their sole object, except where local circumstances prevent such organization, or where woman suffrage already is granted.

(b) They must either have local branches, or admit individual members all over the country.

Applicant societies from countries already affiliated must possess the following additional qualifications:

(c) They must have a membership of at least two-thirds of the number of the original Auxiliary at the time the application is made.

(d) They must differ from the original Auxiliary in politics, religion, or the sex of their members, or in important distinctions of constitution or tactics.

Sec. 3. If, in a country already affiliated, one or more new societies desire to become affiliated with the Alliance, they shall apply for affiliation to the Committee on Admissions, which shall test the applications and decide upon them. If they comply with the regulations for Auxiliaries, this Committee shall notify the existing National Association (or Associations) of the application, with a view to joint representation in the Alliance by means of a Joint Committee for International purposes only. If after notification by the Committee on Admissions the Societies shall fail to form such a Joint Committee, the whole case shall be referred to the Executive Board of the Alliance, which, after having tested their reasons, shall, if necessary, at once call a

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meeting of the Societies in question, and any Society which shall fail to respond to the call, or refuse to comply with the conditions considered reasonable by the Executive Board of the Alliance, shall not be affiliated with the Alliance. The number of delegates to the Congresses of the Alliance shall be divided among the Associations composing such Joint Committee in proportion to their membership; such membership to be reckoned on the basis of individual annual contributions paid directly or indirectly into the central funds of their National Association.

Sec. 4. In a country where no National Woman Suffrage Association has yet been formed, but where local Woman Suffrage Associations exist which give evidence of their intention to form a National Woman Suffrage Association, such Associations may elect a temporary National Committee, which may become Auxiliary to the Alliance by payment of twelve shillings and sixpence annually to the Alliance, and shall be entitled to two voting delegates in all International Meetings.

Sec. 5. In a country where no Woman Suffrage organization exists, a Committee of not less than ten persons which has been formed to further the cause of Woman Suffrage in that country, and which gives evidence of its intention to form a National Woman Suffrage Association, may become Auxiliary to the Alliance by the payment of ten shillings annually, and shall be entitled to one voting delegate in all International Meetings.

Sec. 6. In a country where no Woman Suffrage organization exists because the status of women renders Woman Suffrage agitation impracticable, as it is in most Oriental countries, a Committee of not less than ten persons, which has been formed of persons engaged in forwarding the woman's movement, may become Auxiliary to the Alliance by the payment of ten shillings annually, and shall be entitled to one voting delegate in all International Conventions.

Sec. 7. In a country where women possess equal suffrage with men, and where no Woman Suffrage Associations exist, a non-partisan committee may be formed, consisting of delegates from organizations for the advancement and protection of the political and civil rights of women, and such a committee may become Auxiliary to the Alliance by the payment of annual dues at the rate of a regular Auxiliary, and shall be entitled to the same number of voting delegates.

Sec. 8. International Presidents who have served one full term of office shall be Honorary Members of the Alliance, and shall be entitled to all the rights of regular delegates.

Sec. 9. Any person may become an Honorary Associate Member of the Alliance by the payment into the International Treasury of one pound annually, and shall be entitled to receive the Official Organ of the Alliance and the Reports of Conventions, and shall also be entitled to the privileges of regular delegates in all International Conventions, except the right to make motions and the right to vote. Honorary Associates must have become members at least three months before an International Convention to be entitled to the privileges of membership at that meeting.

ARTICLE IV

CONVENTIONS

Sec. 1. The Alliance shall hold a Quadrennial Convention for the election of officers and the transaction of business, which shall be combined with public meetings for propaganda. If so desired, the programme for the latter shall be arranged by the Auxiliary of the country in which the Convention is held.

Sec. 2. Other Conventions of the Alliance or Sessions of the International Committee may be held in the interim of the Quadrennial Conventions.

ARTICLE V

EXECUTIVE BOARD OF OFFICERS

Sec. 1. The officers of the Alliance shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, two Treasurers, two Corresponding Secretaries, and two Recording Secretaries.

Sec. 2. The eleven elected officers shall constitute an Executive Board of Officers, authorized to conduct the business of the Alliance in the interim of Conventions.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall appoint a Committee on Admissions for the quadrennial period, which shall consist of the President of the Alliance and two members.

ARTICLE VI

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

The Executive Board of Officers, together with the Presidents of the National Auxiliaries, shall constitute an International Committee.

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ARTICLE VII

FINANCE

Sec. 1. The fiscal year of the Alliance shall close on December 31st.

Sec. 2. In addition to the regular report, the Treasurer shall present at each International Meeting a statement of the finances of the Alliance from January 1st to the close of the month prior to such Meeting.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer of the Alliance shall be ex-officio member of the Credentials Committee.

ARTICLE VIII

VOTES AND ELECTIONS

Sec. 1. The persons entitled to vote at the Quadrennial Convention of the Alliance shall be the eleven elected Officers, the International ex-Presidents, and the regular delegates from Auxiliaries and National Committees.

Sec. 2. Any Auxiliary whose dues are unpaid one month previous to the opening of a Convention shall lose its vote in that Convention.

Sec. 3. Whenever by majority vote the delegates request it, the delegates present from each nation shall cast the full vote to which that nation is entitled. In all other cases each delegate shall have one vote.

Sec. 4. The Officers of this Alliance shall be elected at the regular Quadrennial Convention. Nominations for any or all officers may be sent in writing to the 1st Corresponding Secretary, before the Convention by any affiliated Association or Committee, or during the Convention by any Voting Member not later than two days before the election. Nominations for the office of President must be specified as such, on the understanding that those of the nominees that are not elected as President shall be considered nominated as Officers. An Election Committee, consisting of the 1st Corresponding Secretary and two additional members, appointed by the President, shall prepare two printed ballots, one containing all the nominees for President and the other all nominees.

The voting for President shall take place first and separately by ballot. The nominee who receives the greatest number of votes shall be considered elected, provided the votes given to her exceed one-half of all the votes cast at the election. If none of the nominees has an absolute majority of the votes cast, a second ballot shall be taken on the two candidates who have received the highest number of votes.

When the result of the election of President has been made known to the Convention, the election of Officers shall be conducted in the same way. The ten candidates receiving the greatest number of votes shall be considered elected.

Sec. 5. The Board of Officers duly elected shall choose from amongst its members the Vice-Presidents, Treasurers, Corresponding Secretaries and Recording Secretaries.

Sec. 6. The term of the Officers shall expire at the end of the last session of the Quadrennial Convention, and the term of the newly elected officers shall commence immediately after its adjournment.

Sec. 7. The Executive Board shall fill any vacancy caused by the death or resignation of any of its members in the interim between Quadrennial Conventions.

ARTICLE IX

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION

The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any regular Quadrennial Convention, notice of the proposed amendment having been given to the 1st Corresponding Secretary six months, and by her to the Presidents of the National Auxiliaries three months, before the Convention. In the event of failure on the part of the 1st Corresponding Secretary to forward the notice, the amendment may be considered, three days' notice having been given the Convention.

BY-LAW

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, by mutual consent of its Auxiliaries, stands pledged to observe absolute neutrality on all questions that are strictly national; to respect the independence of each affiliated association, and to leave it entirely free to act on all matters within its own country.

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RESOLUTIONS DEFINING THE POLICY OF THE ALLIANCE

Any country—even if not possessing a wholly independent Government, but possessing the power to fully enfranchise its own women citizens—shall be considered a nation by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and may organize a National Woman Suffrage Association, which may be eligible to membership of the Alliance.
Passed August 11, 1906, at Copenhagen.

RESOLVED, That the plain duty of woman at the present hour is to secure the support and co-operation of all the forces favorable to Woman Suffrage, without question as to their political or religious affiliations; to avoid any entanglement with outside matters; to ask for the franchise on the same terms as it is now or may be exercised by men, leaving any required extension to be decided by men and women together when both have equal voice, vote and power.
Passed June, 1908, at Amsterdam.

RESOLVED, That this Congress, remembering the lessons of history, urges the National Societies not to be betrayed into postponing their claim for the enfranchisement of women for any other object, whether it be the further extension of the suffrage to men or the success of some political party.
Passed, 1909, at London.

It has been brought to the notice of this Convention that the wording of the resolution demanding the franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be exercised by men has given rise to misunderstanding, being misconstrued on the one hand as an expression of hostility to universal suffrage, and on the other hand as a pledge to support universal suffrage.
In view of this misinterpretation, this Convention hereby declares that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance has on no occasion taken a position for or against any special form of suffrage. It has been clearly stated by the Alliance that the affiliated societies in each country should be left entirely free to determine for themselves which form of suffrage they will demand at any time. This Alliance does not express an opinion as to what should be the qualifications for enfranchisement, its sole object being to establish the principle that sex should not be a disqualification.
Passed June 16, 1911, at Stockholm.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

We, the delegates assembled in the Second International Woman Suffrage Conference, held in Berlin, on June 3rd, 1904, do hereby affirm our faith in the following principles:
1. That men and women are born equally free and independent members of the human race; equally endowed with intelligence and ability, and equally entitled to the free exercise of their individual rights and liberty.
2. That the natural relation of the sexes is that of inter-dependence and co-operation, and that the repression of the rights and liberty of one sex inevitably works injury to the other, and hence to the whole race.
3. That in all lands those laws, creeds and customs which have tended to restrict women to a position of dependence; to discourage their education; to impede the development of their natural gifts, and to subordinate their individuality, have been based upon false theories, and have produced an artificial and unjust relation of the sexes in modern society.
4. That self-government in the home and the State is the inalienable right of every normal adult, and the refusal of this right to women has resulted in social, legal and economic injustice to them, and has also intensified the existing economic disturbances throughout the world.
5. That Governments which impose taxes and laws upon their women citizens without giving them the right of consent, or dissent, which is granted to men citizens, exercise a tyranny inconsistent with just government.
6. That the ballot is the only legal and permanent means of defending the rights to "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" pronounced inalienable by the American Declaration of Independence, and accepted as inalienable by all civilized nations. In any representative form of government, therefore, women should be vested with all political rights and privileges of electors.
Adopted at the First, Second and Third International Woman Suffrage Conferences.

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DIVISION VII

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

DIRECTORY OF OFFICERS
1916-1917

HONORARY PRESIDENT
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.....171 Madison Avenue, New York
PRESIDENT
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.....171 Madison Avenue, New York
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
Mrs. Walter McNab Miller.....Columbia, Missouri
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
Mrs. Stanley McCormick.....171 Madison Avenue, New York
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
Miss Esther G. Ogden.....171 Madison Avenue, New York
TREASURER
Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers.....171 Madison Avenue, New York
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
Mrs. Frank J. Shuler.....171 Madison Avenue, New York
RECORDING SECRETARY
Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith.....Richmond, Kentucky
FIRST AUDITOR
Miss Heloise Meyer.....Lenox, Massachusetts
SECOND AUDITOR
Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs.....Altamont Road, Birmingham, Ala.

Chairmen of Departments and Committees
1916-1917

Campaigns and Surveys
CHAIRMAN.....MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
Congressional Committee
CHAIRMAN.....MRS. WALTER MCNAB MILLER
Finance Committee
CHAIRMAN.....MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS
Organization Committee
CHAIRMAN.....MRS. FRANK J. SHULER
Press and Publicity Committee
CHAIRMAN.....MRS. STANLEY MCCORMICK
Art Publicity Committee
CHAIRMAN.....MRS. ERNEST THOMPSON SETON
Literature Committee
CHAIRMAN.....MRS. ARTHUR LIVERMORE
Presidential Suffrage
CHAIRMAN.....MRS. ROBERT HUSE

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc.
PRESIDENT.....MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN
MANAGER.....MISS ANNA DEBAUN

An outline of the formation and progress of the Association is to be found on page 43 and a list of the Affiliated Associations on page 70.

The official organ of the National Association is the "*Headquarters News Letter.*"*

* See page 193.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this body shall be the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE II

OBJECT

The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National and State legislation.

ARTICLE III

CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP, DUES AND OBLIGATIONS

Section 1. There shall be four classes of members, viz.: Affiliated, Associated, Co-operating and Life Members.

Sec. 2. Any suffrage organization of 200 or more certified members, whose constitution and policy are in harmony with the constitution and policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association as adopted by the annual convention or declared by the Official Board, may become an Affiliated member.

(a) An Affiliated member shall, eight weeks prior to the National Convention, certify to the Treasurer, in a writing signed by three officers, the total membership recognized by it at that date.

(b) An Affiliated member shall pay annual dues of ten cents for every certified member up to and including 1,500 members, and may pay dues at the same rate on additional members. Representation at the Annual Convention will be on the basis of one delegate for every 100 certified members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including 5,000 members, for whom annual dues of ten cents per member have been paid.

Sec. 3. Any organization which officially endorses woman suffrage may become an Associate member upon approval by two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of $50.00.

Sec. 4. Any individual may become a Co-operating member upon payment of annual dues of $10.00.

Sec. 5. Any individual may become a Life member upon payment of $100.00.

ARTICLE IV

THE ANNUAL CONVENTION, PRIVILEGES AND REPRESENTATION

Section 1. The Annual Convention shall be composed of the Directors and ex-Presidents of the Association, Chairmen of Standing Committees, Presidents of Affiliated organizations and members thereof elected to the Executive Council, and all delegates regularly chosen by Affiliated and Associate organizations and duly accredited to the Convention, each of whom shall be entitled to vote thereat.

Sec. 2. An Affiliated member shall be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention by its president, its member of the Executive Council, if it have one, and one delegate for every one hundred certified members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including five thousand members, for whom annual dues of ten cents per member have been paid.

Sec. 3. An Associate member shall be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention by one delegate.

Sec. 4. A Co-operative member shall be entitled to receive reports published by the Association and to attend all of its public meetings, but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 5. A Life member shall be entitled to receive all reports published by the Association, to attend all of its public meetings and to participate in all of its discussions, but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 6. No representation shall be allowed to any member that has failed to pay annual dues according to Article III.

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ARTICLE V

DIRECTORS

Section 1. The Board of Directors of the Association shall consist of the Honorary President and the Officers of the Association as elected at the convention in the manner hereinafter provided.

Sec. 2. Vacancies in the Board of Directors shall be filled for the unexpired term by a majority vote of the remaining directors at any special meeting called for that purpose, at any regular meeting, or by correspondence.

Sec. 3. In case the entire Board of Directors shall die or resign, the Secretary of the Executive Council shall call a special meeting of the Executive Council, by which body directors shall then be elected for the unexpired term in the manner provided for their election at annual meetings.

Sec. 4. A person chosen to fill a vacancy in the Board shall serve until the close of the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. The Board of Directors may adopt such rules and regulations for their meetings, the conduct thereof, and the management of the affairs of the Association as they may deem proper, not inconsistent with the laws of the District of Columbia, the Constitution of the United States or this Constitution. But in their management of the affairs of the Association, the Board of Directors shall incur no financial obligations for which the Annual Convention shall not have voted the necessary funds, unless they shall make themselves responsible for securing the means to meet such obligations.

ARTICLE VI

OFFICERS—DUTIES AND LIABILITIES

Section 1. The Officers shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Third Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a First Auditor and a Second Auditor.

Each of such officers shall serve for the term of two years beginning immediately upon the close of each alternate convention.

Sec. 2. The President shall perform all the duties incident to her office.

Sec. 3. The First, the Second or the Third Vice-President in said order shall, in the absence or incapacity of the President, perform the duties of the President.

Sec. 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of the Association, and a record of all its proceedings, and shall perform all the duties incident to her office.

Sec. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall not be eligible for appointment as the Executive Secretary of the organization.

Sec. 6. The Treasurer shall have the custody of all funds and securities of the Association, shall pay the bills of the Association, and sign all checks and orders for the disbursement of the Association's moneys, which shall be countersigned by another director, preferably the President, and shall collect all pledges and moneys payable to the Association.

The Treasurer shall keep an accurate account of receipts and disbursements and shall send a monthly summary to the directors.

The Treasurer shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

Sec. 7. The Auditors shall examine and verify the books of the Treasurer and shall give a report thereof at the first business meeting of the Convention.

ARTICLE VII

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—DUTIES AND POWERS

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the Directors of the Association, the Chairman of Standing and Special Committees, the Presidents of Affiliated suffrage organizations and one member from each Affiliated organization which pays dues on a membership of 1,500 or more, of whom fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but no person shall be a member of the Executive Council who holds office in any suffrage organization which does not endorse the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The President of the Association shall act as President of the Council. A Secretary other than a Director shall be nominated and elected by acclamation at the post-convention meeting of the Council.

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Sec. 2. Regular meetings of the Executive Council shall be held immediately preceding and immediately following the Annual Convention of the Association. Special meetings may be called at any time by a majority of the Directors, or by the President upon the written request of fifteen members of the Executive Council.

Notice of a special meeting shall be mailed to each member at least two weeks before the date of such meeting.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall deliberate concerning the plans and policies of the Association and the opportunities and means for their advancement in the several sections of the United States as well as in the nation as a whole, and shall make recommendations and suggestions to the Association in regard thereto at the business sessions of the Convention, and to the Directors from time to time as occasion or prudence may urge.

Sec. 4. The members of the Executive Council may also act by correspondence, a majority vote determining, upon all matters referred to the Council by the Directors, and whenever requested or empowered by the Directors, they or any of them shall advise or co-operate with the Board or advise, act or co-operate with or upon any of its committees for the transactions of the Association's business.

Sec. 5. The Executive Council shall at its pre-convention session give special consideration to the budget for the following year and shall make written recommendation to the Convention in regard thereto.

Sec. 6. The Executive Council shall, at its regular post-convention session, elect from its own number a Committee on Membership, consisting of five members, which shall pass upon the qualifications of organizations applying for affiliated membership in the Association.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENT

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual convention, after one day's notice in the Convention, provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given to the Board and said Board shall have made publication thereof in at least three of the leading suffrage periodicals, not less than six weeks before the opening of the Convention.

BY-LAW I

ANNUAL CONVENTION

Section 1. There shall be an Annual Convention of the Association for the adoption of a budget and the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The Convention shall be held upon days and in a city to be designated by the Directors, and shall be in session for at least four business days.

Notice of the Convention shall be mailed to all Affiliated, Associate, Co-operating and Life members, and shall be published in three of the leading suffrage periodicals at least six weeks before the opening of the Convention.

The General Officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of every alternate Annual Convention. Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the Election.*

Sec. 2. The number of delegates' credentials issued to any member shall be determined six weeks in advance of the National Convention by the member's standing in the Association at that date, and the Treasurer shall thereupon provide Affiliated and Associate members with blank credentials for delegates and alternates.

Sec. 3. Affiliated and Associate organizations shall have communicated the names and addresses of their respective delegates and alternates in writing to the Credentials Committee at least twenty-four hours before the opening of the Convention.

Sec. 4. No credentials shall be issued after the close of the first business day of the Convention.

Sec. 5. Delegates holding certificates signed by the President and the Recording Secretary of their respective organizations and presenting the same to the Credentials Committee before the close of the first business day of the Convention shall be deemed prima facie entitled to their seats, and pending the final report of the Credentials Committee shall have the right to vote upon all questions except that of their right to their own seats.

Sec. 6. Accredited delegates to the Convention shall sit together by delegations in the section of the Convention hall reserved for them. Alternates shall be seated

* Motion passed, Nashville, November 13, afternoon session: That no person shall be put in nomination as a general officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association who has not consented to serve.

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together elsewhere and shall not be admitted to seats in the delegates' section except when duly recognized as acting delegates.

Sec. 7. The Committee on Resolutions shall consist of representatives from the several States and the District of Columbia, one person to be elected from each State and one from the District of Columbia by the delegations therefrom, at a joint meeting during the Convention called by the President of the senior organization thereof. This Committee shall choose its own chairman.

Sec. 8. In case an Affiliated organization shall be unrepresented at the sessions of the Executive Council by its President or duly chosen member, the delegation from such an organization shall have power to elect from its own number a representative to the Council.

Sec. 9. The morning session of the second business day, or as much thereof as may be necessary, shall be given to discussion of the tentative budget.

Sec. 10. Beginning with the morning session of the fourth business day, no further business shall be considered until a budget for the ensuing year shall have been adopted.

BY-LAW II

STANDING COMMITTEES

Section 1. The Board, immediately after the Annual Convention, shall appoint an Executive Secretary, a Legal Adviser and Standing Committees as follows: Campaign, Congressional Work, Elections, Finance, Literature, Local Arrangements, Presidential Suffrage, Press Work, Program and Survey.

Sec. 2. The President of the Association shall be the Chairman of the Program Committee.

BY-LAW III

HONORARY PRESIDENT

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw shall be the Honorary President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such shall have a seat with, and confer with, the Board of Directors.

BY-LAW IV

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

The Executive Council may elect as Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association distinguished adherents of the cause of Woman Suffrage who cannot do active work in the National Association.

BY-LAW V

PAYMENT OF DUES AND PLEDGES

Section 1. Annual dues shall be paid within three months after the National Convention, and the amount shall be determined upon the membership certified to the Treasurer as provided for in Article III, Sec. 2, except that an Affiliated body joining the Association more than ninety days after the Annual Convention shall pay its dues immediately upon joining, the amount thereof being determined upon its membership certified at the date of joining.

Sec. 2. Dues of other than Affiliated members shall be paid by such members immediately upon their joining the Association, and thereafter annually within thirty days following the close of the National Convention.

Sec. 3. Pledges made at the Convention shall be payable not later than April 1st of the following year.

BY-LAW VI

TREASURER'S BOND AND REPORT—AUDIT OF BOOKS

Section 1. The Treasurer shall give bond for the faithful performance of her duties in such sum as the Board may determine.

Sec. 2. The books of the Treasurer shall close four weeks before the Annual Convention, and the report of the Treasurer shall be made at the first session of the Annual Convention.

Sec. 3. The books of the Association shall be audited by a certified public accountant every six months.

BY-LAW VII

AMENDMENT

These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual Convention after one day's notice in the Convention.

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FORTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

Platform of Work Recommended by the Executive Council and Adopted by the Convention, 1916

PLATFORM I—RELATING TO FEDERAL WORK

1. That the convention of 1917 be held in the month of March, or thereabouts.
2. The National Board shall continue to conduct a campaign in support of the Federal Amendment.
3. It shall continue a lobby in Washington until the Federal Amendment shall be submitted.
4. That the matter of the removal of headquarters to Washington shall be left to the judgment of the National Board.
5. It shall conduct a nation-wide campaign of education, agitation, organization and publicity in support of the Federal Amendment.
6. The nation-wide campaign shall include the following:
   (a) A million-dollar fund for the campaign from October 1, 1916, to October 1, 1917.
   (b) A monthly propaganda demonstration to be simultaneously conducted throughout the nation.
   (c) At least 4 campaign directors and 200 organizers in the field and a vigorous, thorough organization in every state.
   (d) A nationalized scheme for education through literature.
   (e) National suffrage schools.
   (f) A Speakers' Bureau.
   (g) Innumerable activities for agitation and publicity.
   (h) A National Press Bureau with department in each State.
   (i) A National Publicity Council with department in each State.
   (j) A National Committee on non-English Propaganda whose duty it shall be to extend suffrage propaganda among the various non-English-speaking races.

PLATFORM II—RELATING TO STATE WORK

1. A council of the representatives of States shall meet in Executive Session in connection with each annual national convention, to hear reports as to the status of each campaign State and to fix upon States which shall be recommended to go forward with campaigns.
2. No State Association shall ask the Legislature of its State for the submission of a State constitutional amendment or for the submission of the question by initiative or by a referred law until such Council or the National Board has been given the opportunity to investigate conditions and to give consent.
   (a) Any State which proceeds to a referendum campaign without securing this consent shall be prepared to finance its own campaign without help from the National Board.
   (b) Any State which has secured the consent of the National Board to proceed with a campaign shall have the co-operation of the Board to the fullest extent of its powers.

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3. As soon as possible experienced campaign managers shall be trained for the work and shall be supplied to a campaign State to work under direction of the National Board in co-operation with the State Board.

4. States willing to contribute to campaigns in other States should do so by the advice of the National Board who should be informed as to conditions, and the money so contributed should be passed through the National Treasury.

5. The rule that the National Board shall do nothing in States without the consent of the State shall be repealed.

6. The organization, press work, literature distributed and general activity of the States shall be standardized.

7. Regular reports on all of these departments shall be made to the National Board in order that advice and help may be rendered when most needed.

8. The National Board shall have the authority to nationalize the suffrage movement by unifying the work as far as is possible.

9. That any States not desiring to work for the Federal Amendment may remain members of the National Association provided they do not work actively against it.

RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO POLITICAL POLICY

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our non-partisan attitude concerning National political parties, but this policy does not preclude the right of any member to work against the election of any candidate who opposes woman suffrage, nor shall it refer to the personal attitude of enfranchised women.

RESOLVED, That the 48th Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association instructs its Congressional Committee to concentrate all its resources upon a determined effort to carry the Federal Amendment through the last session of the 64th Congress. It pledges the support of the State organizations and authorizes the National Board to take such direction of the work in the States as may be necessary in its judgment to accomplish this end.

Platform of Principles

The object of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is to put into effect the resolution adopted in 1848 at the first Woman's Rights Convention that "It is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred rights to the elective franchise."

In pursuance of this policy the 48th Annual Convention has instructed its Congressional Committee to concentrate all its resources upon a determined effort to carry the Federal Amendment through the last session of the 64th Congress; and it pledges the support of the State organizations to this end.

This association now declares that as a result of its work, woman suffrage is in practical operation in twelve States and one territory; that it has refuted every objection urged against it; that it has plainly demonstrated its value to the States and to the women themselves; that this is proved by the fact that no State has made an effort to repeal it; that an immense amount of favorable public sentiment has been created as shown in the resolutions adopted by hundreds of international and national organizations for other objects with millions of men and women members,

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while not one has gone on record in opposition; that the press of the country is largely favorable; that its own membership has increased by hundreds of thousands: and, most significant of all, that every political party has put in its platform a plank for woman suffrage and every presidential candidate has expressed himself in favor of it.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association demands that Congress shall recognize this situation by submitting without delay an amendment to the Federal Constitution which shall secure nation-wide woman suffrage. It calls attention to the increasing public opinion in favor of national legislation. It holds that the doctrine of states rights would not be violated by the submission of a National Amendment for Woman Suffrage since it would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the State Legislatures, which are elected by popular vote.

This association calls especial attention to the fact that during the entire forty-seven years of its existence its attitude toward the political parties has been strictly non-partisan; and its victories have been due to friends in all parties. This association is firmly of the opinion that adherence or hostility to any party is to be condemned and it hereby declares its continued allegiance to the policy of non-partisanship.

RESOLUTIONS

I.

WHEREAS, all political parties in their National platforms have endorsed the principle of woman suffrage, be it

RESOLVED, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association in convention assembled calls upon Congress to submit to the States the Constitutional Amendment providing nation-wide suffrage for women.

II.

AND WHEREAS, the Democratic and Republican Parties in endorsing the principle of woman suffrage have specially recognized the right of the States to settle the question for themselves, we call upon these parties in the campaign States to take immediate action to obtain the enfranchisement of women, and in other States to take such action as the suffrage organizations deem expedient.

III.

RESOLVED, That we rejoice that during the year 1916, women have won full suffrage in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan, with only one dissenting vote in the three Parliaments; that women have been made eligible to the Council of State in Norway, and that in the United States they have obtained municipal suffrage in East Cleveland, Ohio.

That we rejoice in the significant legislative victory in New York and in the great gain made in other State Legislatures.

That we express our grateful appreciation for the many endorsements of woman suffrage during the past year by State and National organizations, including the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Relief Corps.

That we rejoice that there is a plank endorsing woman suffrage in the national platforms of every political party.

That all presidential candidates have declared themselves in favor, that President Wilson has said he would fight with us, that Mr. Hughes has

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announced his support of the Federal Amendment, and that Mr. Hanley and Mr. Benson have endorsed both methods of work.

And that we further felicitate ourselves that for the first time a President of the United States has publicly declared his belief in woman suffrage.

IV.

That we express our profound sympathy with the women in the countries now at war and our sense of the advance that has been made in the cause of all women by the devotion, ability and courage with which these women have risen to the new demands made upon them.

V.

WHEREAS, this association has received a letter of congratulation and sympathy from the Canadian women, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this association thanks its neighbors in Canada for their cordial greetings, and express the appreciation of the suffragists of the United States for the tremendous impulse given to our movement by the successful efforts and great accomplishments of these women.

VI

WHEREAS, honest elections are vital to good government in this country and to the decisions in the campaigns in which amendments providing for woman suffrage are submitted, and

WHEREAS, public records of all funds used in political campaigns will benefit our movement in that they will bring to light the real opponents to woman suffrage, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention urges the passage by Congress and the States of a thorough and comprehensive Corrupt Practices Act providing effectual punishment for offenders.

VII

RESOLVED, That in recognition of Miss Clara Barton's life-long support of woman suffrage, as well as her service to the country in founding the American Red Cross and standing at its head for more than a quarter of a century, this association endorses the bill recently introduced in Congress providing for an appropriation of $1,000 to place a suitable memorial to Miss Barton in the Red Cross Building now being constructed in the City of Washington.

VIII

RESOLVED, That we express our deep appreciation of the great honor the President of the United States has done the women of the country by coming to Atlantic City especially to address this convention.

IX

RESOLVED, That we extend our thanks to the Atlantic City Woman's Suffrage Club, to Miss Mary G. Hay, to Miss Lulu Hubbard Marvel, Chairman of the General Committee; to Mrs. Arthur S. Chenoweth, to Mrs. J. Haines Lippincott, to Mrs. Gervase O. F. Skinner, to Mrs. Mary W. Harper, to Mrs. John J. White, and to Mrs. Wm. B. Loudenslager and to the members of their committees and sub-committees for their devoted and capable service; to Mayor Bacharach for his courteous welcome, to the Rev. A. H. Lucas, pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church and the trustees for their generous gift of the church for our first day's meeting; to the young women who have so gracefully and ably served us as ushers; to the press, to the members of the local police force and to the many other individuals who have rendered us assistance.

ALICE DUER MILLER, Chairman.

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REPORT UPON WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

The following are excerpts from the Report of the National Congressional Committee (National American Woman Suffrage Association), giving an account of the progress of Suffrage Measures in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

The Report was submitted to the Forty-eighth Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association by the Chairman of the Committee, Mrs. Frank M. Roessing.

The Report in full is published in the "Hand Book" of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1916. (Pages 68–88.)

SENATE. In the Senate the resolution providing for our amendment was introduced on December 7, 1915, by three members: Senator Sutherland of Utah, Senator Thomas of Colorado, and Senator Thompson of Kansas. All three measures were referred to the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, consisting of the following senators: Thomas of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Ransdell of Louisiana, Hollis of New Hampshire, Johnson of South Dakota, Sutherland of Utah, Jones of Washington, Clapp of Minnesota, Catron of New Mexico.

On January 8, this committee reported favorably resolution No. 1, introduced by Senator Sutherland. The written report made from the committee by Senator Thomas is one of the best pieces of literature on the subject and at the request of our National president copies were mailed to every state president and state chairman of congressional work. Since that early date our measure has been on the calendar in the Senate. It has come to the top a number of times, but at the request of suffrage Senators was held over until a more auspicious time.

"As the National Association was desirous of having a vote on the measure at this session, your Committee began work to that end immediately after receiving specific instructions from the National Board on June 17.

The meaning of the suffrage planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms was disputed by some men in both parties. The leaders stated that the planks were silent as to the Federal amendment and thus left men free to vote upon the amendment as each decided. In order to ascertain the interpretation which would be given the planks by members of Congress, it was determined to push for a vote in the Senate as just stated, especially as one-third of the Senators come up for re-election in November.

On June 27, Mrs. Catt, Miss Patterson, Miss Hay, Vice-Chairman of the Committee, and your chairman held an informal conference with the Senators of the enfranchised states in the office of Senator Shafroth of Colorado, the purpose being to secure the assistance of these men in getting our measure to a vote in the Senate. The necessity for the Senate's consideration of emergency measures made it impossible to proceed at that time. Inasmuch as unanimous consent is required for the consideration of such a measure as ours, the Senators at the conference agreed that if we would consent to have the vote taken without debate, it would probably be possible to bring the measure to a vote, since this plan would not consume the time of the Senate. In view of the situation your four representatives believed that it was best to forego any debate on the question in order to make sure of the vote being taken, and so informed the Senators. While we recognize the value of speeches at such a time for general propaganda, we do not believe that such debate changes a single vote in the Senate—therefore the omission of debate in this instance would not have been to our loss.

On July 22, at the request of the National Committee, Senator Thomas made preliminary plans for a vote. He wrote to each Senator asking whether he would consent to a vote being taken without debate. He informs us that on both the Republican and Democratic sides there were men who would not give such consent, some having stated that they had been asked by certain suffragists not to consent.

After the endorsement of the Federal Amendment by Mr. Hughes, there were frequent remarks made in the Senate on the amendment by members of both parties, Senator Clark (Republican) of Wyoming, and Senator Pittman (Democrat) of Nevada, being among those who urged action at this session. However, no such action was permitted, and finally in August Senator Thomas gave up work upon securing a vote. As it was then so late in the session and a number of our friends had left to start their own state campaigns for re-election, and could not return again at this session, the National Committee concurred in this plan. We determined that it would be wiser to defer the vote until next winter so that the full strength of our vote may be in attendance.

HOUSE. The path of our measure in the House has been to encounter an unworthy blockade in the Judiciary Committee. The amendment was introduced in the House by five men: Representatives Raker of California, Mondell of Wyoming, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, and Hayden of Arizona. The resolutions were all re-

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ferred to the Judiciary Committee of the House, which in turn referred them to its sub-committee No. 1.

On February 9 the sub-committee reported Resolution No. 1, introduced by Mr. Raker, to the main committee without recommendation, the vote being four to three. Messrs. Taggart (Democrat), Volstead, Nelson and Morgan (Republicans) voted in favor, and Carlin, Gard and Whaley (Democrats) were opposed.

On February 15 the Judiciary Committee by a vote of nine to seven voted to refer our measure back to sub-committee No. 1, to be held until December 14. Those who voted in favor of postponement to December were: Mr. Whaley of South Carolina, Mr. Webb of North Carolina, Mr. Carlin of Virginia, Mr. Walker of Georgia (substituted on the Committee for Mr. Dupré of Louisiana), Mr. Igoe of Missouri, Mr. Gard of Ohio, Mr. Williams of Illinois, Mr. Steele of Pennsylvania, Mr. Caraway of Arkansas. All are Democrats.

Those who voted against such postponement were: Mr. Taggart of Kansas, Mr. Volstead of Minnesota, Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin, Mr. Chandler of New York, Mr. Thomas of Kentucky, Mr. Dale of New York, Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania. Three are Democrats, four are Republicans.

Representatives Moss and Neely of West Virginia, Dyer of Missouri, Morgan of Oklahoma, and Danforth of New York were absent. Of these absentees four were in favor of our amendment, giving us a majority of one in the Committee. Since the vote on February 15 was taken at a time when so many of our friends were absent, your Congressional Committee immediately asked the Judiciary Committee to reconsider this action at a time when the full committee could be present. Not until March 14, did we succeed in having the Judiciary Committee again take up the matter of our resolution. The committee went into executive session, so that we do not have the details as to what happened, but we know the results.

Twenty of the twenty-one members were present, our eleven friends and nine opponents. Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania was the only absentee. Mr. Moss of West Virginia, who had been very ill and was slowly recuperating, made a special effort to attend the meeting at our request. We learned on the preceding day that Mr. Dale of New York was absent, so we wired asking him to return for the meeting. He sent us a prompt reply that he would surely be present, which he was.

A motion was made to reconsider the committee's action of February 15. Chairman Webb ruled the motion out of order. A long debate ensued lasting an hour and a half. Finally, in order to relieve the parliamentary tangle, Mr. Carlin of Virginia secured unanimous consent to set March 28 at 10:30 a. m. as the date and time at which the Judiciary Committee itself would act on our measure. In effect, this was a reconsideration, but it was so diplomatically managed that the cheering was gentle. The Judiciary Committee further agreed that on March 28 any member who was sick would be permitted to vote by proxy, and any one who was obliged to be absent might pair.

The morning of March 28, found four members of your Congressional Committee in the ante-room of the Judiciary Committee. As soon as it met the latter went into executive session, so that again we do not have the stenographic record of what happened. We do know, however, that instead of presenting our resolution for consideration at the time appointed, which is the presiding officer's duty where there is a special order of business, Mr. Webb, the chairman, permitted the consideration of a motion to postpone indefinitely all constitutional amendments, thereby preventing the promised consideration of our resolution. Of the eleven members pledged to our support, Mr. Williams of Illinois was absent. He gave a proxy to Mr. Taggart authorizing his vote to be cast in favor of our amendment, but he also permitted himself to be paired with any absentee opposed to us. As Mr. Walker of Georgia, who is against woman suffrage, was absent, he and Mr. Williams were paired. This left ten of our friends present to nine members of the opposition. Mr. Dyer of Missouri, who had promised to vote for us, defaulted and voted against us, in that he voted to postpone indefinitely all constitutional amendments. It is said that the reason for Mr. Dyer's vote is that although he was in favor of reporting out our resolution, he was opposed to the prohibition amendment. When the two were linked together he voted against both.

Those who voted for us were: Mr. Taggart of Kansas, Mr. Thomas of Kentucky, Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma, Mr. Neely of West Virginia, Mr. Moss of West Virginia, Mr. Volstead of Minnesota, Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin, Mr. Dale of New York, Mr. Chandler of New York. Of the above, four are Democrats and five Republicans.

Those who voted against us were: Mr. Webb of North Carolina (Chairman), Mr. Carlin of Virginia, Mr. Igoe of Missouri, Mr. Dyer of Missouri, Mr. Gard of Ohio, Mr. Whaley of South Carolina, Mr. Caraway of Arkansas, Mr. Steele of Pennsylvania, Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania, Mr. Danforth of New York. Of these, seven are Democrats and three Republicans.

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The effect of indefinite postponement is to quash the proposition for that session unless unanimous consent can be secured to bring it up again. The number of anti-suffragists on the committee made it impossible to secure unanimous consent. The only other possibility of action lay in securing a majority of the committee who would vote not to sustain the decision of the chair to prevent a reconsideration. That has been impossible. . . . "

OTHER SUFFRAGE LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS

"**PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESOLUTION.** There has been other suffrage legislation introduced in this session of Congress besides the Federal amendment. On January 24, Senator Norris of Nebraska, introduced in the Senate a resolution providing for the direct election of the President and Vice-President of the United States. Upon looking into this measure we discovered that one sentence in it was so worded that it would take away from the women of Illinois their presidential franchise. Mrs. Funk and your Chairman immediately brought this matter to the attention of Senator Norris, who stated that he would make a revision of the measure so as not to disfranchise the Illinois women. He further agreed that the revision should be made so that any women securing the presidential franchise by legislative action in the future would also be protected. Senator Norris is a strong suffragist, and will undoubtedly make a revision which will be entirely satisfactory when the Senate Committee is ready to take up this resolution. Because this is a presidential year there has been no hope of securing the passage of the measure at this session, and the committee has not even reported upon it.

FEDERAL ELECTIONS BILL. On December 6, Representative Raker of California introduced at the request of the Federal Suffrage Association a bill to protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators and members of the House. The bill was referred to the Committee on the Election of the President, Vice-President and Representatives in Congress, and has not yet been reported out. On December 10, this same bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Lane of Oregon. It was referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage and is still in Committee.

UNITED STATES ELECTIONS BILL. The United States Elections Bill introduced by Senator Owen at the request of Miss Laura Clay on February 3, aims also to secure to women the right to vote for Senators and Representatives in Congress. With regard to this bill Miss Clay says that it is simply a declaratory act; that it does not permit Congress to specify qualifications of voters, and therefore does not involve the issue of states' rights. This bill was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, where it remains. It has not been introduced in the House. This measure was approved by the last convention, but inasmuch as its constitutionality is questioned and its presence in Congress found to conflict with the work on the Federal Suffrage amendment, the National Committee under instructions from the National Board did not work on this measure. One conference was held with Miss Clay, at which time the position of the National Committee was explained and our regret expressed that we were unable to push the measure.

DISTRICT PROHIBITION BILL. Early in the session Senator Sheppard introduced a bill to prohibit the sale of alcoholic drinks in the District of Columbia. An amendment with regard to submitting this question to a vote of the men of the District was introduced by Senator Underwood. On March 3 Senator Borah introduced an amendment to the Underwood amendment so as to permit women as well as men to vote upon it. There was no discussion on Senator Borah's amendment, and the bill itself and the amendments have not been brought up for consideration at this session. They will undoubtedly be taken up at the short session next winter.

DISTRICT DELEGATE BILL. On May 15 a favorable committee report was given in the Senate on the measure known as the District Delegate Bill. This bill provides for the election of one delegate to the House of Representatives by the citizens of the District and establishes a system of election. The delegate is to have a voice in the House, but no vote. His term is to be the same length as that of members of the House —two years. All persons in the District, without regard to sex, who have been bona fide residents for the previous year are entitled to vote for the delegate. While the measure of suffrage given to the citizens of Washington by this bill is small, it is important in that it recognizes the principle of woman suffrage in establishing the electorate. It is a matter of National importance because it puts Congress directly on record on the principle of equal suffrage.

The men's and women's suffrage organizations in the District have combined in pushing this bill, and the legislative committee, of which Mrs. Raymond B. Morgan is chairman and Mrs. Funk the legislative agent, have done the active lobby work. Mrs.

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Morgan has conferred with your Congressional Committee about this bill, and we have rendered the special assistance which she has asked in so far as lay within our power. Effort was made to secure a vote on this bill at this session, but it could not be accomplished because of the pressure of other business. It will require only a majority vote to pass this measure, and it is hoped that the necessary number will be secured. This bill has not yet been introduced in the House.

PORTO RICAN BILL. On May 22 the House had under consideration the Porto Rican bill, part of which deals with the suffrage in Porto Rico. The bill was considered in committee of the whole, during which Representative Mann of Illinois offered an amendment giving the women of Porto Rico the franchise on the same terms as men, which terms are very limited. The amendment carried by a vote of 60 to 37. On the following day the bill with its amendments was taken up by the House in regular session and the woman suffrage amendment was lost by a vote of 59 to 80. . . ."

"**PLANKS.** For some time prior to June your Committee used every opportunity with Senators and Congressmen to further the work of securing suffrage planks in the two national party platforms. Your congressional chairman was put in charge of the political work on the planks, drafting for submission to the National president the wording of the planks which were offered to the two conventions on behalf of the National Association. Committee members who went to Chicago and St. Louis concentrated their efforts on the planks.

The two demonstrations in Chicago and St. Louis planned and supervised by the National Board were the culmination of the National's campaign on behalf of the planks. In co-operation with the National Congressional Committee, many state delegations of women who came for the demonstrations did special eleventh-hour work with the delegates to the political conventions.

Your Committee regrets that the planks in the two dominant national party platforms, since they mention method at all, do not specifically endorse Federal action, but they will be of great value in the states and progress there will help the Federal work. Every man in Congress is keenly alive to the strength of our movement in his district and state. For that reason your Committee urged each state to secure individual planks in the state platforms endorsing the principle of woman suffrage. We urged them to distinguish between planks favoring submission to the voters of the states, and those endorsing woman suffrage—and to insist upon endorsement of the principle. As a last resort, if they could not secure a separate plank in their state platforms we asked them to make sure that each state convention endorsed its party's national platform, that they might in this way have the equivalent of a state endorsement. . . .

With the final yielding of these two parties to the justice of woman suffrage all the political parties are on record in favor of the principle. Of the National parties all except the Republican and Democratic parties endorse the Federal amendment."

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DIVISION VIII

STATE REFERENDA ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BY MARY SUMNER BOYD

[Reprinted from the Data Department of the *Headquarters News Letter*.]

STATE REFERENDA ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Alaska	1913	Act of Territorial Legislature (Unanimous vote)	
Arizona	1912	Yes— 13,442	No— 6,202
California	1896	Yes—110,355	No—137,099
	1911	Yes—125,037	No—121,450
Colorado*	1877	Yes— 6,612	No— 14,053
	1893	Yes— 35,798	No— 29,451
	(Act of Legislature but ratified by popular vote.)		
Delaware	1915	Amendments not submitted to the people (Vote on Bill—Sen., Yeas 29, Nays 15; House, Yeas 8, Nays 22.)	
Idaho	1896	Yes— 12,126	No— 6,282
Illinois	1913	Municipal and Presidential Suffrage by Act of Legislature (Vote—Senate. Yeas 29, Nays 15; House, Yeas 83, Nays 58.)	
Iowa	1916	Yes—162,683	No—173,024
Kansas	1867	Yes— 9,070	No— 19,857
	1894	Yes— 95,302	No—130,139
	1912	Yes—175,246	No—159,197
Massachusetts	1915	Yes—162,492	No—295,939
Michigan	1874	Yes— 40,077	No—135,957
	1912	Yes—247,375	No—248,135
	1913	Yes—168,738	No—264,882
Missouri	1914	Yes—182,257	No—322,463
Montana	1914	Yes— 41,302	No— 37,588
Nebraska	1871	Yes— 3,502	No— 12,668
	1882	Yes— 25,756	No— 50,693
	1914	Yes— 90,738	No—100,842
Nevada	1914	Yes— 10,936	No— 7,258
New Hampshire	1903	Yes— 13,089	No— 21,788
New Jersey	1915	Yes—133,282	No—184,390
	(Had Woman Suffrage up to 1807.)		
New York	1915	Yes—553,348	No—748,332
North Dakota	1914	Yes— 40,011	No— 49,410
Ohio	1912	Yes—249,420	No—336,875
	1914	Yes—335,390	No—518,295
Oregon†	1884	Yes— 11,223	No— 28,176
	1900	Yes— 26,265	No— 28,402
	1906	Yes— 36,902	No— 47,075
	1908	Yes— 36,858	No— 58,670
	1910	Yes— 36,200	No— 58,800
	1912	Yes— 61,265	No— 57,104
Oklahoma	1910	Yes— 88,808	No—128,928
Pennsylvania	1915	Yes—385,348	No—441,034
Rhode Island	1887	Yes— 6,889	No— 21,957

* In 1901 constitutional safeguards were thrown about the political rights of women in Colorado by an amendment striking out the word "male." The amendment carried by a majority six times as large as that which originally conferred the right.

† An outline of Woman Suffrage history in Oregon states: "Equal Suffrage Amendment was not ratified for two years after 1895." There is no record of a vote in this year.

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South Dakota	1890	Yes— 22,792	No— 45,682
	1898	Yes— 19,698	No— 22,983
	1914	Yes— 39,605	No— 51,519
	1916	Yes— 53,432	No— 58,350
Utah	1896	Yes— 28,618	No— 2,687
	(Voted on as part of Constitution of new States, had Woman Suffrage in Territorial Period.)		
Washington	1889	Yes— 16,527	No— 35,912
	1898	Yes— 20,171	No— 30,497
	1910	Yes— 52,299	No— 29,676
	(Had Woman Suffrage in Territorial Period.)		
West Virginia	1916	Yes— 63,540	No—161,607
Wisconsin	1912	Yes—135,545	No—227,024
Wyoming	1869. Act of Territorial Legislature. Vote—Council, Yeas 6, Nays 3; House, Yeas 6, Nays 4.		

Since 1912, Voters in thirteen States have Polled Big Votes for Suffrage

[Reprinted from "The Woman's Journal," September, 1916]

Since the last Presidential election 2,286,130 votes have been cast for equal suffrage in the thirteen States that have voted on the question. The vote for suffrage in these States was as follows:

Year			Year		
1915	Massachusetts	162,492	1915	Pennsylvania	385,348
1913	Michigan	168,738	1914	South Dakota	39,605
1914	Montana	41,302	1914	Missouri	182,257
1914	Nevada	10,936	1914	Nebraska	90,738
1915	New Jersey	133,282	1916	Iowa	162,683
1915	New York	533,348			
1914	North Dakota	40,011		Total	2,286,130
1914	Ohio	335,390			

MASSACHUSETTS

Elections returns by Counties upon the Proposed Woman Suffrage Amendment, November 2, 1915:

	Vote			Vote	
Counties	Yes	No	Counties	Yes	No
Barnstable	1,109	2,700	Middlesex	36,584	61,531
Berkshire	5,341	10,499	Nantucket	101	404
Bristol	11,783	23,444	Norfolk	9,982	17,697
Dukes	195	528	Plymouth	7,497	13,886
Essex	21,159	40,122	Suffolk	35,249	59,067
Franklin	2,178	4,184	Worcester	17,474	36,778
Hampden	11,261	18,125			
Hampshire	2,702	6,737	Totals	162,615	295,702

NEW JERSEY

Election returns by Counties upon the proposed Woman Suffrage Amendment, October 19, 1915:

	Vote			Vote	
Counties	Yes	No	Counties	Yes	No
Atlantic	3,091	6,977	Monmouth	5,684	8,031
Bergen	8,769	9,957	Morris	4,244	5,566
Burlington	4,496	6,197	Ocean	1,450	1,293
Camden	9,820	12,357	Passaic	11,154	13,152
Cape May	1,430	1,783	Salem	1,231	1,626
Cumberland	2,956	3,673	Somerset	1,973	3,379
Essex	24,200	38,335	Sussex	1,138	2,051
Gloucester	2,699	3,287	Union	8,202	11,520
Hudson	23,977	31,931	Warren	2,235	2,669
Hunterdon	2,112	2,614			
Mercer	6,996	10,296	Totals	133,282	184,390
Middlesex	5,425	7,696			

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PENNSYLVANIA

Election returns by Counties upon the Proposed Woman Suffrage Amendment, November 2, 1915:

Counties	Vote Yes	Vote No	Counties	Vote Yes	Vote No
Adams	1,279	2,908	Lancaster	6,554	13,343
Allegheny	50,557	47,539	Lawrence	5,020	2,829
Armstrong	3,277	2,587	Lebanon	1,511	4,211
Beaver	5,710	2,982	Lehigh	4,184	10,373
Bedford	1,396	3,176	Luzerne	14,639	11,500
Berks	7,302	13,355	Lycoming	4,222	4,790
Blair	6,857	5,745	McKean	3,321	1,164
Bradford	4,065	1,859	Mercer	6,329	2,997
Bucks	3,349	7,090	Mifflin	1,179	1,577
Butler	4,795	3,660	Monroe	926	1,286
Cambria	7,583	6,480	Montgomery	8,709	13,024
Cameron	325	192	Montour	718	953
Carbon	2,685	3,034	Northampton	4,383	7,814
Centre	2,330	3,392	Northumberland	6,110	6,010
Chester	7,429	6,035	Perry	1,051	2,111
Clarion	2,158	1,539	Philadelphia	77,247	122,519
Clearfield	4,999	2,825	Pike	341	463
Clinton	2,004	1,658	Potter	2,030	979
Columbia	2,402	2,652	Schuylkill	6,726	7,769
Crawford	4,736	2,596	Snyder	595	1,667
Cumberland	2,442	4,379	Somerset	2,634	3,937
Dauphin	7,549	9,242	Sullivan	463	490
Delaware	8,147	9,229	Susquehanna	2,779	1,547
Elk	1,276	2,216	Tioga	2,912	1,704
Erie	7,123	4,695	Union	641	1,056
Fayette	6,915	5,470	Venango	4,464	2,397
Forest	674	259	Warren	2,616	1,241
Franklin	2,958	3,498	Washington	7,215	5,504
Fulton	473	862	Wayne	1,731	1,228
Greene	1,694	2,070	Westmoreland	12,421	11,281
Huntington	1,789	2,381	Wyoming	994	904
Indiana	2,639	2,252	York	5,348	12,090
Jefferson	4,572	2,343			
Juniata	527	1,410	Totals	385,348	441,034
Lackawanna	11,319	8,666			

NEW YORK

Election Returns Upon the Proposed Woman Suffrage Amendment, Nov. 2, 1915.*

Vote for Suffrage	Vote against Suffrage	Lost by
553,348	748,332	194,984

The following counties carried the amendment: **Broome, Chautauqua, Chemung, Schenectady, Tompkins.**

Counties "Up-state"	Amendment No. 1 Woman Suffrage Yes	Amendment No. 1 Woman Suffrage No	Counties "Up-state"	Amendment No. 1 Woman Suffrage Yes	Amendment No. 1 Woman Suffrage No
Albany	12,263	23,604	Cortland	2,822	2,848
Allegany	3,851	4,372	Delaware	4,242	5,701
Broome	8,022	7,607	Dutchess	6,839	10,220
Cattaraugus	5,319	6,338	Erie	25,669	36,491
Cayuga	4,467	5,870	Essex	2,853	3,433
Chautauqua	9,887	7,086	Franklin	2,113	3,136
Chemung	6,371	5,910	Fulton	3,145	3,561
Chenango	3,358	3,802	Genesee	3,027	3,453
Clinton	2,657	4,126	Greene	2,264	3,999
Columbia	2,030	5,610	Hamilton	464	663

*Reprinted from "The Woman Voter."

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NEW YORK—Continued.

COUNTIES "UP-STATE"	AMENDMENT NO. 1 WOMAN SUFFRAGE Yes	No	COUNTIES "UP-STATE"	AMENDMENT NO. 1 WOMAN SUFFRAGE Yes	No
Herkimer	3,819	5,182	Saratoga	5,020	7,349
Jefferson	5,648	9,476	Schenectady	7,351	6,006
Lewis	1,604	3,768	Schoharie	2,061	3,540
Livingston	2,320	3,934	Schuyler	1,413	1,918
Madison	3,776	5,188	Seneca	2,139	3,346
Monroe	18,297	24,843	Steuben	7,226	9,740
Montgomery	3,661	4,642	Suffolk	7,219	8,962
Nassau	7,097	8,295	Sullivan	2,415	4,992
Niagara	6,832	9,214	Tioga	1,945	2,573
Oneida	8,891	15,562	Tompkins	3,266	3,157
Onondaga	19,190	21,901	Ulster	5,035	10,099
Ontario	4,032	6,603	Warren	2,297	4,369
Orange	9,433	11,838	Washington	4,138	5,456
Orleans	2,301	3,201	Wayne	3,508	6,700
Oswego	5,915	6,358	Westchester	20,165	23,930
Otsego	4,205	5,925	Wyoming	2,622	3,981
Putnam	1,062	1,441	Yates	1,410	2,671
Rensselaer	6,875	11,630			
Rockland	3,810	4,559	Totals	315,250	427,479
St. Lawrence	5,599	7,300			

Lost by.....112,229

GREATER NEW YORK

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
238,098	**320,853**	**82,755**

MANHATTAN BOROUGH

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
88,886	**117,610**	**28,724**

1st A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,119	**2,579**	**1,460**

None carried.

2nd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,915	**3,266**	**1,351**

Carried Election Districts 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19.

3rd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,955	**2,924**	**969**

Carried Election Districts 6, 20.

4th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,247	**2,291**	**44**

Carried Election Districts 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18.

5th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,823	**3,533**	**1,710**

None carried.

6th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	WON BY
2,695	**2,536**	**159**

Carried Election Districts 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

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7th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,078	2,822	744

Carried Election Districts 2, 8.

8th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Won By
2,493	2,355	138

Carried Election Districts 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 19.

9th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,512	2,484	972

Carried Election District 14.

10th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,507	2,674	167

Carried Election Districts 1, 3, 4, 5, 11, 15, 16.

11th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,174	3,605	1,431

None carried.

12th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,897	2,929	1,032

Carried Election District 2.

13th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,697	2,697	1,000

Carried Election District 19.

14th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,990	3,510	1,520

None carried.

15th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
3,882	5,086	1,204

None carried.

16th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,827	3,528	1,701

None carried.

17th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
3,851	4,799	948

Carried Election Districts, 1, 7, 8, 12.

18th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,303	3,869	1,566

None carried.

19th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
5,846	6,305	459

Carried Election Districts 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45.

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20th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,247	3,827	1,580

None carried.

21st A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
4,571	5,183	612

Carried Election Districts, 3, 6, 10, 12, 14, 19, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36.

22nd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,288	4,681	2,393

None carried.

23rd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
11,544	11,971	427

Carried Election Districts 2, 10, 25, 26, 27, 31, 33, 34, 36, 39, 40, 41, 47, 49, 50, 54, 55, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82.

24th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,793	2,808	1,015

Carried Election District 11.

25th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,987	3,184	197

Carried Election Districts 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25.

26th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Won By
3,436	3,235	201

Carried Election Districts 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16. 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

27th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,253	2,986	733

Carried Election Districts 2, 6, 12.

28th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,603	2,520	917

Carried Election District 7.

29th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,936	4,310	1,374

None Carried.

30th A. D.

(Part of this Assembly District is in the Bronx. These are for the Election Districts in Manhattan only.)

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,636	4,214	1,578

Carried Election District 31.

31st A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
4,781	4,899	118

Carried Election Districts 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 28, 36.

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BROOKLYN BOROUGH

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
87,402	121,679	34,277

1st A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,654	3,689	1,035
Carried Election Districts 2, 3, 6.		

2nd A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,460	2,877	1,417
Carried Election District 9.		

3rd A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,548	2,922	1,374
None carried.		

4th A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,982	4,285	1,303
Carried Election District 1.		

5th A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
3,959	5,852	1,893
None carried.		

6th A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
3,362	3,795	433
Carried Election Districts 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17.		

7th A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,269	3,796	1,527
None carried.		

8th A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,795	3,597	1,802
None carried.		

9th A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
6,766	8,179	1,413
Carried Election Districts 5, 25, 33, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 50.		

10th A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
3,252	4,829	1,577
None carried.		

11th A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
3,585	4,697	1,112
Carried Election Districts 18, 20, 25, 26.		

12th A. D.		
For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
4,702	6,321	1,619
Carried Election Districts 6, 13, 21.		

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13th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,748	3,834	2,086

None carried.

14th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,003	2,947	944

Carried Election Districts 3, 4, 5, 6.

15th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,442	3,984	1,542

None carried.

16th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
8,349	9,767	1,418

Carried Election Districts 17, 18, 24, 28, 29, 30, 36, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52.

17th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
3,870	4,562	692

Carried Election Districts 5, 15, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26.

18th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
8,473	10,235	1,762

Carried Election Districts 3, 12, 17, 18, 28, 37, 45, 52, 55, 60.

19th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,807	4,377	2,570

None carried.

20th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,747	5,512	2,765

None carried.

21st A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
2,076	2,333	257

Carried Election Districts 1, 3, 11, 14, 15.

22nd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
8,423	11,597	3,174

Carried Election Districts 43, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60.

23rd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
7,130	7,692	562

Carried Election Districts 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 57.

BRONX BOROUGH

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
34,307	40,991	6,684

30th A. D.

(Part of this Assembly District is in Manhattan. These are for the Election Districts in the Bronx only.)

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
1,006	1,313	307

Carried Election District 38.

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32nd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
9,787	12,027	2,240

Carried Election Districts 21, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 62.

33rd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
3,802	5,982	2,180

Carried Election Districts 8, 9, 12, 14, 36.

34th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Won By
11,485	10,946	539

Carried Election Districts 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 55, 66.

35th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
8,227	10,723	2,496

Carried Election Districts 2, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 34.

RICHMOND BOROUGH

1st A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
6,108	7,469	1,361

Carried Election Districts 5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 43, 47.

QUEENS BOROUGH

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
21,395	33,104	11,709

1st A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
3,639	6,038	2,399

None Carried.

2nd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
4,102	6,097	1,995

Carried Election District 19.

3rd A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
6,419	12,070	5,651

None Carried.

4th A. D.

For Suffrage	Against Suffrage	Lost By
7,235	8,899	1,664

Carried Election Districts 4, 15, 17, 21, 24, 32, 41, 46, 47, 53.

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IOWA

Election returns by districts upon the proposed Woman Suffrage Amendment, June 5, 1916:

FIRST DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Des Moines,	1,708	3,205		1,587
Henry,	1,593	1,491	102	
Jefferson,	1,281	1,489		208
Lee,	2,243	2,311		68
Louisa,	1,108	1,213		105
Van Buren,	1,211	797	414	
Washington,	1,676	1,424	253	

Total loss, 1,968. Total gain, 768.
Majority lost in district, 1,200.

SECOND DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Clinton,	1,397	3,558		2,161
Iowa,	1,098	1,724		626
Jackson,	934	2,172		1,238
Johnson,	1,597	2,564		967
Muscatine,	1,532	1,733		201
Scott,	2,208	4,986		2,778

All counties lost.
Total loss in district, 7,971.

THIRD DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Blackhawk,	3,440	2,969	471	
Bremer,	967	1,809		842
Buchanan,	1,538	1,527	11	
Butler,	1,372	1,728		356
Delaware,	1,296	1,404		108
Franklin,	1,316	1,550	234	234
Dubuque,	2,748	7,192		4,444
Hardin,	1,821	1,486	335	
Wright,	1,641	1,582	59	

Total gain, 876. Total loss, 5,984.
Majority lost in district, 5,108.

FOURTH DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Allamakee,	864	1,836		372
Cero Gordo,	2,354	1,453	901	
Clayton,	1,136	2,123		987
Chickasaw,	962	1,490		528
Fayette,	1,943	1,842	101	
Floyd,	1,472	1,295	177	
Howard,	847	667	180	
Mitchell,	1,283	952	331	
Winneshiek,	1,013	1,705		692
Worth,	792	988		196

Total gain, 1,690. Total loss, 2,775.
District lost by 1,085.

FIFTH DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Benton,	1,341	1,819		478
Cedar,	1,141	1,834		693
Grundy,	969	1,193		224
Jones,	1,184	1,981		797
Linn,	4,093	5,584		1,491
Marshall,	2,653	1,803	850	
Tama,	1,808	2,045		237

Total gain, 850. Total loss, 3,920.
District lost by 3,070.

SIXTH DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Davis,	1,041	1,349		308
Jasper,	2,310	2,261	49	
Keokuk,	1,514	1,554		40
Manaska,	2,050	1,693	357	
Monroe,	1,595	1,226	369	
Poweshiek,	1,493	1,196	297	
Wapello,	2,588	2,882		294

Total gain, 1,072. Total loss, 642.
District won by 430.

SEVENTH DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Dallas,	2,651	1,748	903	
Madison,	1,268	1,408		140
Marion,	1,561	2,165		604
Polk,	9,309	7,858	1,451	
Story,	2,671	1,606	1,065	
Warren,	1,484	1,161	323	

Total gain, 3,742. Total loss, 744.
District won by 2,998.

EIGHTH DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Adams,	895	1,208		313
Appanoose,	2,212	1,459	753	
Clarke,	1,152	969	183	
Decatur,	1,625	1,314	311	
Fremont,	1,093	596	497	
Lucas,	1,631	1,091	540	
Page,	2,185	1,133	1,052	
Ringgold,	1,285	1,013	272	
Taylor,	1,632	1,253	379	
Union,	1,625	1,274	351	
Wayne,	1,818	1,238	580	

Total gain, 4,918. Total loss, 313.
District won by 4,605.

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NINTH DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Adair,	1,197	1,211		14
Audubon,	749	1,226		477
Cass,	1,579	1,674		95
Guthrie,	1,809	1,347	462	
Harrison,	1,618	1,375	243	
Mills,	1,064	630	434	
Montgomery,	1,612	1,169	443	
Pottawattamie,	3,156	3,349		93
Shelby,	882	1,156		274

Total gain, 1,582. Total loss, 953.
District won by 629.

TENTH DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Boone,	2,089	1,771	318	
Calhoun,	1,708	1,376	332	
Carroll,	1,267	1,865		589
Crawford,	1,036	1,861		725
Emmet,	1,132	782	350	
Greene,	1,686	1,014	672	
Hamilton,	1,632	1,602	30	
Hancock,	1,346	1,549		203
Humboldt,	1,275	1,067	208	
Kossuth,	1,400	1,721		321
Palo Alto,	949	1,430		481
Pocahontas,	1,446	1,510		64
Webster,	2,367	2,019	348	
Winnebago,	1,049	1,191		142

Total gain, 2,258. Total loss, 2,534.
District lost by 276.

ELEVENTH DISTRICT

	Vote Yes	Vote No	Gain	Loss
Buena Vista,	1,708	1,376	332	
Cherokee,	1,089	1,140		51
Clay,	1,115	989	126	
Dickinson,	976	727	249	
Ida,	927	784	143	
Monona,	1,034	1,144		110
Lyon,	855	916		61
O'Brien,	1,488	1,220	268	
Osceola,	571	899		328
Plymouth,	1,316	1,831		515
Sac,	1,545	1,134	410	
Sioux,	1,176	1,796		620
Woodbury,	4,563	4,690		127

Total gain, 1,528. Total loss, 1,812.
District lost by 284.

Total vote *for* 162,683. Total vote *against* 173,024.

Majority against in State, 10,341.

THE VOTE ON SUFFRAGE, 1915—A COMPARISON

The following table was published in *The Woman's Journal*, January 1, 1916. Comparison is made of the vote cast in favor of Woman Suffrage, in 1915, in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with that cast for Mr. Taft, Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Wilson in the same States, at the Presidential Election in 1912.*

"The official vote in the four States which voted on equal suffrage in October and November was as follows:"

	For	Against	Majority	Per Cent. Favorable
New York	544,457	732,770	188,313	42.63
	(One county missing)			
Pennsylvania	385,348	441,034	55,688	46.63
Massachusetts	162,615	295,702	133,087	35.48
New Jersey	133,201	184,474	51,273	41.93
Totals	1,225,621	1,653,980	428,361	42.56

The vote for suffrage in these States, compared with the vote for Taft in 1912, is as follows:

	For Suffrage	For Taft	Per Cent. for Suffrage	Per Cent. for Taft
New York	544,457	455,428	42.63	28.68
	(One county missing)			
Pennsylvania	385,348	273,305	46.63	22.39
Massachusetts	162,615	155,948	35.48	31.95
New Jersey	133,201	88,835	41.93	20.54
Totals	1,225,621	973,516	42.56	26.10

* Final election returns upon the amendment in New York were: Votes for, 553,348; votes against, 748,332.

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The vote for equal suffrage, compared with the vote for Roosevelt in 1912, is as follows:

	For Suffrage	For Roosevelt	Per Cent. for Suffrage	Per Cent. for Roosevelt
New York	554,457	399,021	42.63	24.57
	(One county missing)			
Pennsylvania	385,348	447,426	46.63	36.67
Massachusetts	162,615	142,228	35.48	29.14
New Jersey	133,201	145,410	41.93	33.62
Totals	1,225,621	1,125,085	42.56	30.17

Compared with the vote for Wilson in 1912, the vote for suffrage is as follows:

	For Suffrage	For Wilson	Per Cent. for Suffrage	Per Cent. for Wilson
New York	544,457	655,475	42.63	41.28
	(One county missing)			
Pennsylvania	385,348	395,619	46.63	32.42
Massachusetts	162,615	173,408	35.48	35.53
New Jersey	133,201	178,289	41.93	41.22
Totals	1,225,621	1,402,791	42.56	37.62

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DIVISION IX

THE EFFECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE UPON LEGISLATION IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES

Anti-suffragists assert that Woman Suffrage does not better the condition of women in States where they vote. This is disproved by a study of the tenor of certain laws passed since the granting of woman suffrage in each State. A full summary of these laws is contained in the pamphlet "Where Women Vote,"* by Frances M. Bjorkman and Annie G. Porritt. A number of laws are cited from this pamphlet in the following:

WYOMING

(Certain laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1869.)

Making mothers equal guardians with fathers over minor children.
Giving women absolute rights over their own property.
Providing penalties for child neglect or cruelty.
Forbidding the employment of children in certain industries.
Providing for the care of dependent children.
Raising the age of protection of young girls to 18.
Providing that men and women teachers receive the same pay for equal work.
Making gambling illegal.
Making State pure food regulations conform with the national law.
Providing for the initiative and referendum, the commission form of government, direct primaries and accounting for campaign expenses on the part of candidates for political offices.
Establishing pensions for mothers.

COLORADO

(Certain laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1893.)

Making mothers equal guardians with fathers over minor children.
Forbidding the employment of children in certain industries.
Establishing a juvenile court.
Making parents responsible for the offences of delinquent children, when they have by neglect or any other cause contributed to such delinquency.
Raising the age of protection of young girls to 18.
Compelling men to support their families, and making wife-desertion a felony.
Establishing a State home for dependent children, two of the five members of the Board to be women.
Passing several measures for the prevention of vice.
Establishing a State parental school.
Requiring that three members of the Board of County Visitors shall be women.
Establishing a State Industrial Home for girls, three of the five members of the Board to be women.
Prohibiting the sale of cigarettes to children.
Prohibiting the sale of opium.
Establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners.
Making employers liable for industrial accidents.
Making the Colorado Humane Society a State bureau of child and animal protection.
Establishing a State travelling library commission, to consist of five women from the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs.
Establishing mothers' pensions.
Creating a minimum wage board to determine a minimum wage for women.
Establishing an Eight Hour law for women.
Providing for the initiative, referendum, recall, and direct primaries.
At the election in November, 1914, state wide prohibition was adopted.
In 1915 an Abatement and Injunction Law was passed.

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* Included in "History, Arguments and Results" (1917 Edition)—National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company.

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UTAH

(Certain laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1896.)

Providing that teachers receive equal pay for the same work.
Providing for the protection of dependent or ill-treated children, and for the punishment of the persons responsible.
Raising the age for protection of young girls to 18.
Making it a misdemeanor for a minor to have in his possession cigarettes, opium, or any other narcotic.
Prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries.
Providing for a course of free lectures every year at the capital on sanitary science, hygiene, and nursing. Passing measures for the prevention of vice.
Passing certain health measures.
Prohibiting the employment of women more than 9 hours a day or 54 hours a week.
Creating a juvenile court commission.
Creating a minimum wage for women.
Making mothers equal guardians with fathers of their minor children.
Providing for mothers' pensions.
Giving local option on the liquor question.

IDAHO

(Certain laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1896.)

Prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries.
Creating a Juvenile Court.
Raising the age of protection for young girls to 18.
Establishing libraries and reading rooms and a State library commission.
Providing for a department of domestic science in the State University.
Establishing an Industrial School.
Establishing a minimum wage law for women.
Establishing a Nine Hour law for women.
Providing for the inspection and regulation of places where food and drugs are prepared.
Providing for the commission form of government.
Creating pensions for mothers.
Making mothers equal guardians with fathers over children.
Giving married women control of their property and earnings.
Passing measures for the prevention of vice. In 1915 the Abatement and Injunction Law was passed.

WASHINGTON

(Certain laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1910.)

Creating an Eight Hour law for women.
Establishing an industrial welfare commission to fix hours of employment, standard conditions of labor and minimum wage for women.
Providing for workmen's compensation.
Creating a teachers' retirement fund.
Establishing mothers' pensions.
Providing that a man who refuses to support his family shall work in a county stock yard, and the sum for each day's work be paid his wife and children.
Adopting the Injunction and Abatement Act.
Providing for juvenile courts.
Fixing penalties for child desertion.
Creating a state school for delinquent girls.
Improving the public school system.
Abolishing the death penalty.
Adopting the initiative and referendum.

CALIFORNIA

(Certain laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1911.)

The mothers' pension law.
"The minimum wage law, creating a commission to investigate the conditions of industry of women and children, with power to determine minimum wage rates, maximum hours of labor, and proper conditions of work in industries in which women and minors are employed."

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Abatement and Injunction Act.

The Joint Guardianship Law, giving mothers equal rights with fathers over minor children.

The Juvenile Court Law, separating dependent from delinquent children.

The extension of the Eight Hour law for women to include workers in apartment houses and nurses in training.

The Age of Consent Law raising the age of protection of girls from 16 to 18 years.

The State Training School for girls providing a separate institution for girls, with the most approved correctional methods and thorough vocational training.

The Teachers' Pension Law, granting pensions of $500.00 a year to all teachers who have been in service thirty years.

The Weights and Measures Law.

The Prison Reform Law. All sentences except for murder made indeterminate. Assistance to discharged prisoners, etc.

Amendment to the Child Labor Law, raising the age limit of child workers from 12 to 15.

The Bastardy Law, requiring fathers to help support illegitimate children.

The Workmen's Compensation Law.

Acquirement of the wife's signature to legalize the assignment of a man's wages.

The provision of a public defender for poor persons in criminal cases.

The provision of home teachers to work among immigrant families, to instruct children and adults concerning school attendance; in the English language; in sanitation; in household economics; and in American citizenship.

The Married Women's Property Law, giving married women complete control of their own property.

The extension of the power of the Industrial Welfare Commission, to cover hours of labor, wages and conditions of work in the canning industry.

KANSAS

(Municipal Suffrage granted 1887. Full Suffrage granted 1912.)

Previous to 1912 the laws of Kansas were generally fair to women. The first Constitution adopted in 1859, provided that "the Legislature shall provide for the protection of the rights of women in acquiring and possessing property, real, personal, or mixed, separate and apart from the husband, and shall also provide for their equal rights in the possession of their children." In 1868 women were given full control of their property and their wages.

Following are some of the measures passed since women were enfranchised:

Creating a Department of Labor and Industry with at least one woman factory inspector.

Providing for workman's compensation.

Providing that wages of prisoners shall be given to their families.

Certain reform measures. Restricting the sale of injurious drugs.

Establishing mothers' pensions.

Giving a right to damages against town or city for injury to person, property, or means of support, due to intoxication of husband or father.

Giving to wife, child, or employer right to damages for injury due to intoxication against owner of place where liquor was sold.

Establishing an Industrial Welfare Commission with power to fix minimum rates of wages, maximum hours of work and standard conditions for women and minors.

OREGON

(Certain laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1912.)

Providing for an Industrial Commission to fix hours of labor, standard conditions of labor, and a minimum wage for women and children.

Establishing a State Industrial School for Girls.

Providing for the industrial training of dependent girls in the public school system.

Making it a felony to refuse to support wife and minor children.

Providing for the care of children of marriages declared void.

Providing for teachers' pensions.

Providing for mothers' pensions.

Adopting the model Iowa Abatement and Injunction Act.

Passing several health protective measures.

An act creating juvenile courts.

An act permitting school houses to be used as civic centres.

An act abolishing capital punishment.

An act providing equal pay for equal work for men and women teachers.

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ARIZONA

(Laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1912.)

In 1913 the Legislature passed an Eight Hour law for women in certain industries; also a law granting pensions to mothers, which was later declared unconstitutional.

In 1914 the votes of women contributed to the carrying of the prohibition amendment to the State Constitution.

ILLINOIS

(Partial Suffrage granted women in 1913.)

Though women may vote for Presidential Electors, for the State Board of Equalization and for certain county and municipal offices, they may not vote for members of the Legislature.

"Legislators are elected by men only and yet the social legislation passed by them in 1915 which was approved by women is far ahead of that passed in previous sessions, or that passed by legislators in adjoining states where women's 'indirect influence' was not supported by so generous a measure of suffrage."*

Following are some of the laws passed in 1915:

Pensions to mothers from $15.00 to $60.00 monthly.
Pensions to blind of $150.00 annually.
Increase of Cities Power to Acquire and Maintain Public Playgrounds.
State-wide Teachers' Pensions.
Untrue and Misleading Advertising Punishable by Fine and Imprisonment.
Contributing to Dependency and Delinquency of Children Criminal.
Abatement and Injunction Law.
Abandonment of Wife or Child Punishable by Fine or Imprisonment or both.
No Jail within 200 feet of School House.
High School Tuition paid by State, for Eighth Grade Graduates, where there are no High Schools in the Home Townships.
Physical Education and Training in all Public Schools.
School Houses used for Social Centres.
Registration of Births and Deaths.
Prohibition of Adulteration and Misbranding of Food and Dairy Products.

* * * * * *

The direct effect of woman suffrage upon legislation has been in the passage of numerous local temperance measures.†

"In the elections held since the passage of the woman suffrage law, more than 1,000 saloons have been closed because of the majorities in the women's ballot boxes. With the assistance of their votes, 25 counties have abolished the saloon, in addition to the 28 counties which were dry when the suffrage law was passed. Fifty-three of the 102 counties of the state are now without saloons; 69 county seats are dry; 92 counties have less than four places still retaining the saloons, and of the 1,430 townships in the state, 1,235 are dry.

The suffrage law has contributed to law enforcement more than any other factor." (Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1916.)

MONTANA

(Certain laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1914.)

The Legislature of 1915 was not elected with the help of the women, but in the session 1915 several laws advocated by women's organizations were passed.

An Equal Guardianship Law, giving the mother equal rights with the father over minor children.

A Mothers' Pension law.

An act giving married women control of their own property.

An act making both father and mother liable for necessaries for their family and for the education of their children.

An act providing that a Constitutional Amendment for state-wide prohibition be submitted to the voters in 1916.

An act providing for juvenile courts and probation officers.

* Quoted from Leaflet "Indirect Influence Increased by Illinois Woman Suffrage," by Catharine Waugh McCulloch.

† Women may vote on all questions submitted to a vote of the electors of the municipalities or other political divisions of the State; except such questions as the constitution provides must be submitted to the electors.

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NEVADA

(Certain laws passed since the granting of Woman Suffrage in 1914.)

The following measures supported by women were passed by the Legislature in 1915:
An act giving mothers an equal right with fathers over their children.
An act providing for mothers' pensions.
An act providing for pensions for retired teachers.
An act providing for kindergartens in small communities.

THE EFFECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE UPON LEGISLATION IN SCANDINAVIA, NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA

In Norway "the possession of political power by women has noticeably increased the amount of consideration given by the Government to the welfare of women and children. Various posts, formerly closed, have been opened to women, and a number of the worst inequalities and injustices in the legal position of women have been removed." *

In Iceland, Sweden, and Denmark women through the municipal franchise have exerted an influence toward bettering conditions in their own communities. In Iceland they have achieved "official recognition of the unfair conditions of women wage workers, thereby making an opening for future remedial legislation." *

FINLAND

An abstract has been made by Vera Hjelt from the legislation of the years 1907–1911, of the questions dealt with in the bills introduced by the women members of the Diet.†

The following are some of the measures cited in this abstract:

"The raising of the marriageable age of women; the relations regarding property between husband and wife; the abolition of the guardianship exercised by a man over his wife; the right of mothers with regard to their children; the endowment of motherhood; the right of women to enter every kind of Government service; the improvement of the condition of illegitimate children; the erection of Homes for destitute mothers and children . . . . prison reform; the establishment of rural colonies; instruction in a trade in prison; the support of various educational institutions from the public funds; grants for the promotion of public morality with special regard to the abolition of regulated vice; the appointment of women health inspectors; the intervention of the commune in labor disputes; the establishment of a central social bureau; the construction of new railways; the acceleration of the reform of the laws concerning the treatment of Jews; compulsory education; total prohibition of the sale of alcohol." . . . .

NEW ZEALAND

(Municipal suffrage granted women in 1886.—Parliamentary suffrage granted in 1893.)

Among the laws cited in "Woman Suffrage in Practice" [1913] as being reasonably supposed to have been facilitated by the women's vote in New Zealand are the following:

1893—The Alcoholic Liquor Sale Control Act provides that the electors in any local area shall have the right to decide by referendum whether the existing number of licenses shall continue, or be reduced, or whether all licenses shall be abolished.

1893—The Infant Life Protection Act.

1894—The Married Women's Property Act gives married women the right to make contracts with their own money, etc.

1894—The Destitute Persons Act makes a husband liable for maintaining any children, legitimate or illegitimate, his wife may have at the time of the marriage, boys up to 16 and girls up to 18. A married woman with separate property is made liable to maintain her husband and children. The father of an illegitimate child is made liable to pay from 4s. to 20s. a week for its maintenance up to the age of 14, and he

* "Woman Suffrage—History, Arguments and Results."
† "Woman Suffrage in Practice" [1913], p. 60. (Published by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.)

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may be made to pay an additional £20 for its education. The mother is also liable for its maintenance.

1894—The Legitimation Act provides that the marriage of parents subsequent to the birth of a child legitimatises it.

1896—The Criminal Code Amendment Act raises the age of consent ffom 15 to 16.

1896—The Female Law Practitioners' Act enables women to practice law.

1898—The Divorce Act makes divorce equal as between men and women.

1898—The Prevention of the Employment of Boys and Girls without Payment Act.

1900—The Workers' Compensation for Accidents Act.

1901—The Opium Prohibition Act.

The School Attendance Act.

1904—The Destitute Persons' Act enables a magistrate to make an order on an employer to pay part of a man's wages for his destitute wife or child.

1904—The Worker's Compensation for Accidents Act.

1905—The Education Amendment Act provides for equal pay for equal work in mixed schools.

1911—The Widows' Pension Act.

AUSTRALIA

(State Suffrage granted in South Australia in 1895—in West Australia in 1900—in New South Wales 1902—in Tasmania 1903—in Victoria 1908. Full Suffrage granted throughout Federated Australia in 1902.)

Since being enfranchised women have helped to secure measures providing "for equal pay for equal work; equal naturalization laws; protection of juvenile immigrants; regulation of the food and milk supplies; protection of infant life; appointment of police matrons; provision for deserted wives, and maintenance of wives of prisoners out of prisoners' earnings; establishment of juvenile courts; State support for free kindergartens and playgrounds; establishment of old age pensions and maternity grants of £5 ($25.00) in respect of each child born; establishment of eight hour day for women; state boards for the fixing of the minimum wage scale, and hours and conditions for working women; raising the age of consent for girls; and allowing women who have married foreigners to retain their own nationality." *

* "Woman Suffrage—History, Arguments and Results."

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All parties
DIVISION X All pres. candidates 1916

SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

LIST OF ASSOCIATIONS WHICH HAVE ENDORSED WOMAN SUFFRAGE

I—WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

International Council of Women (representing over 7,000,000 women).
National Federation of Women's Clubs.
The State Federations of the following thirty-three States: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.
National Women's Trade Union League (representing twenty-two leagues in thirteen states.)
Women's Peace Party.
World Women's Christian Temperance Union.
National Order of Maccabees (representing over 50,000 women).
International Council of Nurses (representing nine countries).
American Nurses Association.
National Women's Single Tax League.
Association of Collegiate Alumnae.

II—GENERAL ASSOCIATIONS

National Education Association.
National Grange. (Men and Women engaged in farming).
National Men's League (for Woman Suffrage).
American Federation of Labor.
National Miners' Federation.
Farmers' National Congress.
National Purity Congress.
National Association of Letter Carriers.
National Association of Post Office Clerks.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
American Federation of Railroad Workers.
United Textile Workers of America.
Grand Council of United Commercial Travelers.
National American Retail Jewelers' Association.

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National Street Railway Association.
Southern Labor Congress.
World's Christian Temperance Union.
Anti-Saloon League of America.

III—RELIGIOUS BODIES

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
The United Presbyterian Church of North America.
The Society of Friends.

THE SUFFRAGE PLANKS OF 1916

National political parties have made the following declarations in their platforms:

The Democratic Party—We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of this country, State by State, on the same terms as to the men.

The Republican Party—The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

The Progressive Party—And we believe that the women of the country, who share with the men the burdens of government in times of peace and make equal sacrifice in times of war, should be given the full political rights of suffrage, both by State and Federal action.

The Socialist Party—We advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to——

Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

The immediate adoption of the so-called "Susan B. Anthony amendment" to the Constitution of the United States granting the suffrage to women on equal terms with men.

The Prohibition Party—The right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. We declare in favor of the enfranchisement of women by amendment to State and Federal constitution. We condemn the Republican and Democratic parties for their failure to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the national constitution. We remind the four million women voters that our party was the first to declare for their political rights, which it did in 1872.

IV—PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ENDORSE WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Every Candidate for President in 1916 for the First Time in History Was a Suffragist

PRESIDENT WILSON

Speaking as a private citizen, President Wilson said in October, 1915:

"I intend to vote for woman suffrage in New Jersey because I believe the time has come to extend that privilege and responsibility to the women of the State."

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In a letter to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, made public on June 22nd, 1916, the President said in reference to the suffrage plank in the Democratic Platform:

"The plank received my entire approval before its adoption and I shall support its principle with sincere pleasure."

On September 8, 1916, President Wilson addressed the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of The National American Woman Suffrage Association. This is the first time in the history of the suffrage movement that a President of the United States, as a suffragist, has addressed a convention.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

In referring to the Suffrage plank in the Republican platform Mr. Hughes said:

"I endorse the declaration in the platform in favor of woman suffrage. If women are to have the vote, as I believe they are, it seems to me entirely clear that in the interest of the public life of this country, the contest should be ended promptly.

"I favor the vote for women."

* * * * * * * * * * *

The Progressive, Socialist and Prohibition candidates for President were also in favor of woman suffrage.

ENDORSEMENTS BY UNITED STATES SENATORS

Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin (Republican):
That democracy is safest where its entire citizenship is most enlightened, most interested, most alert. As it is essential that we should have the co-operation of the women of the country in the development of home life, so we should have the co-operation of the women of the country in the legislation which underlies the home life, and is fundamental to all our social relations.

Senator Shafroth, of Colorado (Democrat):
The influence of women has always been for good, both in conventions and at elections.

Senator Jones, of Washington (Republican):
Every time the Amendment is considered in the House or Senate its strength will be increased and its ultimate success is sure.

Senator Thompson of Kansas (Democrat):
None of the objections urged against woman suffrage have ever been experienced in actual practice. I have always stood for it, and always shall vote for it.

Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon (Democrat):
The battle for equal suffrage is more than half won.

Senator Brady, of Idaho (Republican):
Idaho has enjoyed the advantages and blessings of equal suffrage for 18 years, and I can recommend it as a federal measure.

Senator Ashurst, of Arizona (Democrat):
. . . a class of persons obedient to the laws as are women; a class which has a peculiar care for the right of others; a class which is taxed upon its labor for the support of the Government . . .should not be denied a voice in the enactment and enforcement of laws and concerns of the Government.

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Senator Clark, of Wyoming (Republican):
Woman suffrage worked with wonderfully good result while the territorial form of government lasted, and when Wyoming became a State, was put into the Constitution. So far as I am informed, nobody who has the interest of the State at heart has ever desired or suggested a change.

Senator Owen, of Oklahoma (Democrat):
I will welcome the time when the ideals of women will be recognized in government.

Senator Sutherland, of Utah (Republican):
I expect to live to see the day when an opponent of woman suffrage will be as great a curiosity as an advocate was 25 years ago.

Senator Cummins, of Iowa (Republican):
The government of the people of the United States, from the smallest unit of political organization to the supreme power which comprehends the whole country, requires all the intelligence, all the patriotism, all the morality and all the energy of both men and women to maintain it successfully.

Senator Thomas, of Colorado (Democrat):
Woman suffrage in Colorado is no longer an experiment. It has been tried, and it has risen in full measure to the expectations of those who were originally its advocates.

Senator Borah, of Idaho (Republican):
The presence of woman in politics, armed with the power to enforce her demands, has been substantially for the benefit of society.

Senator Lane, of Oregon (Democrat):
Naturally and logically woman should have a voice and a share in saying what manner of government should be placed upon herself and her children.

Senator Clapp, of Minnesota (Republican):
The time is inevitable when the American people will confer upon American womanhood the only peaceable weapon known to free government for her own protection, for the protection of her property and the protection of her children, and that is the ballot.

Senator Poindexter, of Washington (Republican):
. . . the women who have voted are those who are best qualified to have the right to vote, who are the best informed . . . about the effect upon conditions, upon themselves, and upon their families of the laws which are enacted in response to the suffrage of the people at the polls.

ENDORSEMENTS BY GOVERNORS OF SUFFRAGE STATES

Governor Kendrick, of Wyoming:
I have never known women to use the elective franchise to defeat any good object or to defeat the election of a man or woman who was really worthy of their suffrage.

Governor Carlson, of Colorado:
The responsibility of the vote has proved of incalculable value to women and through them to children who are being trained to live in the world and render service to it.

Governor Hay, of Utah:
The women and women's organizations have been active in promoting legislative measures tending to moral uplift, and they have been particularly active in securing our splendid juvenile court code, the nine-hour law for women and many other measures of an advanced nature.

Governor Alexander, of Idaho:
The women of Idaho are not politicians or place hunters, but they are independent, intelligent and honest and are the most potent force for good government and civic righteousness.

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Governor Lister, of Washington:
I know of no one who favored giving the women of the State the right to vote who to-day opposes it, and large numbers of those who were opposed to the constitutional amendment when it was before the people are to-day in favor of it.

Governor Johnson, of California:
Since its adoption in October, 1911, equal suffrage has been put to the most severe test. . . . Were it again to be submitted, the vote in its favor would be overwhelming.

Governor Withycombe, of Oregon:
The women of our State have availed themselves of their privilege with enthusiasm and wisdom.

Governor Hunt, of Arizona:
Actual results are a criterion; equal suffrage, as adopted and applied in Arizona, is an unqualified success.

Governor Capper, of Kansas:
Kansas gave her women school suffrage and liked it. Afterwards she gave them municipal suffrage and liked it better. Afterwards she gave them full suffrage and liked it best. It has had an immediate effect for good; it has impelled all political parties to include in their programme and platform humanitarian projects and moral issues which previously they had ignored.

Governor Dunne, of Illinois:
Anyone who considers what the women of Chicago have done in the last two years knows that they do vote when they can.

Governor Stewart, of Montana:
We have had short time to observe the working of the new order, but Montana women are giving numerous evidences of intelligent interest and a determination to measure up to their new responsibilities. I believe beneficial results will follow.

Governor Boyle, of Nevada:
The women of the State have taken an active and intelligent interest in all public questions.

RESOLUTIONS ENDORSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE PASSED BY LEGISLATURES OF WYOMING, COLORADO, KANSAS AND CALIFORNIA

Resolutions of the Legislature of Wyoming:
In 1893 the House of Representatives passed unanimously a resolution stating that the exercise of suffrage by the women of Wyoming for the past quarter of a century had largely aided in banishing crime and pauperism from the State, and had secured orderly elections, good government and "a remarkable degree of civilization and public order." In 1899 a similar resolution was passed, and in 1901 both houses unanimously adopted a resolution recommending woman suffrage to the other States.

Resolutions of the Legislature of Colorado:
In 1899 both houses of the Legislature passed a resolution stating that woman suffrage had been a success in Colorado and recommending the measure to the other States. (The vote stood 45 to 3 in the House, and 30 to 1 in the Senate.)

In 1915, in answer to misrepresentations about suffrage in Colorado, the Senate passed unanimously the following resolution:

"Whereas, woman suffrage was made a part of the organic law of the State of Colorado more than 22 years ago, and

"Whereas, the operation and effect of woman suffrage in this State is being made the subject of misrepresentation in other States where the question is an issue,

"Therefore, We deem it to be our duty to say that experience has demonstrated that woman suffrage is not only a just recognition of the rights of all before the law, but has proved in all respects materially helpful to good government among the people, and to a noticeable degree has inculcated a higher respect for the majesty and supremacy of the law."

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Resolution of the Legislature of Kansas:

In 1915 the Legislature passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, The women of our State exercised the right of universal suffrage at the last election for the first time in the history of Kansas; and

"Whereas, The right to vote was exercised by them generally and with manifest interest in the question at issue; and

"Whereas, This right was exercised by them on the basis of informed intelligence and their vote was the expression of individual views of party principles, neither being one-sided nor prejudiced, but having been given for such political measure as appealed to their judgment to be right,

"Therefore, Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of Kansas, the House concurring therein,

"That it is the judgment of this Legislature that the granting of the right of suffrage to the women of the State, so long withheld from them, was not only an act of justice to a disfranchised class, but that it also has proved to be of great good to the State, and to the women themselves."

Resolution of the Legislature of California:

In 1915 the Legislature passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That so successful has been the operation and effect of granting political rights to women equal to those held by men, that it is generally conceded that were the question to be again voted on by the people of this State, it would be re-endorsed by an overwhelming majority; and be it further

"Resolved, That the adoption of woman suffrage by California is one of the important factors contributing to the marked political, social, and industrial advancement made by our people in recent years, and that any disparagement of the cause of woman suffrage attempted elsewhere on the ground that woman suffrage is not satisfactory to this State, has no basis in fact, and is signally disproved by the acknowledged intelligence and discrimination shown by women voters in the settling of our great political and industrial problems at the polls."

RESOLUTIONS ENDORSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE PASSED BY THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT OF AUSTRALIA *

On November 17, 1910, the Senate by a unanimous vote passed the following resolution:

"That this Senate is of the opinion that the extension of the suffrage to the women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliaments has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of elections, and at the last Federal election the women's vote in a majority of the States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by the men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of defense and Imperial concern they have proved themselves as far-seeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought about nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women."

A few days later the House of Representatives passed a similar resolution by unanimous vote.

The New Zealand Parliament likewise passed resolutions endorsing woman suffrage.

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RECOMMENDED WOMAN SUFFRAGE

This Commission, appointed by President Wilson to probe the causes of social and industrial unrest, published its report in August, 1915. Among its recommendations the **granting of equal suffrage to women was strongly urged** as one of the means by which women in industry may obtain living wages.

Under the heading Women and Children in Industry (Sec. 7), the report says:

"The position of women in industry has been rendered doubly hard by reason of their lack of training for industrial work, by the oversupply of such labor and the con-

* "Woman Suffrage in Practice," (1913) p. 12.

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sequent competition, **by their traditional position of dependence, and by their disfranchisement."**

The report was drawn up by Basil M. Manly, Director of Research and Investigation for the Commission, and was signed by Chairman Frank P. Walsh and Commissioners John B. Lennon, James O'Connell and Austin B. Garretson.

NOTABLE PERSONS IN FAVOR OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE*

Olive Schreiner:

Not only is the woman's movement of our age not a sporadic and abnormal growth . . . but it is essentially but one important phase of a general modification which the whole of modern life is undergoing.

Jane Addams:

If woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties then she must bring herself to use the ballot. . . .

Professor Henry R. Seager, President of the American Association for Labor Legislation:

It is unreasonable and unjust to ban women longer from participation in public activities. This is all the more true because the things which government undertakes are increasingly things with which women are even more concerned than men.

Norman Hapgood:

All the arguments of any real interest against woman suffrage have been destroyed by the single historical fact that industry has gone out of the home and woman has had to follow it.

Julia Lathrop, Head of the U. S. Children's Bureau:

Woman Suffrage is a natural and inevitable step in the march of society forward; and instead of being incompatible with child welfare, it leads towards it, and is, indeed, the next great service to be rendered for the welfare and ennoblement of the home.

Hon. Ben B. Lindsey, Judge of the Denver Juvenile Court:

We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundation of the Republic. These laws, in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of woman suffrage. . . .

Theodore Roosevelt:

It is the right of woman to have the ballot; it is the duty of man to give it; and we all need women's help as we try to solve the many and terrible problems set before us. In the solution of these problems, we should use the full and not the cramped strength of every man and woman in the entire commonwealth.

Hon. Louis D. Brandeis:

The change in my opinion with respect to woman suffrage is due to the result of my own experience in various movements with which I have been connected in which we have tried to solve the social, economic and political problems that have presented themselves from time to time. . . . I am convinced that for the solution we must look to the many, not to the few. We need all the people, women as well as men.

Selma Lagerlöf:

Women must enter all the fields if the state is ever to be beloved like the home. We believe that the winds of God are bearing us onward, that our little master-work, the home, was our creation with the help of man. The great master-work, the state, will be perfected by man when in all seriousness he takes woman as his helper.

Edward Devine, Director of the School of Philanthropy, New York:

Either woman should have been denied the comprehending intelligence, the power of judgment of men and measures, the capacity for taking interest in public questions, the

* The majority of these opinions in favor of woman suffrage are reprinted from "History, Arguments and Results," 1917 edition, published by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.

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social conscience capable of being stirred by injustice, by stupidity and inefficiency, or else she should have the fullest opportunity to act as her conscience dictates, to give tangible evidence of her interest, to use her judgment and to exercise her intelligence.

Samuel Gompers:

When government was concerned with property, property ownership was the qualification for the right of the ballot. When it was concerned with land, land was the logical qualification. When it was concerned with a state religion, religious affiliation was the qualification. When it concerned itself with group or racial welfare, membership in that class or race was the qualification. . . . But when it concerns itself with human welfare, existence as a rational human being is the only qualification. . . .

Dr. Katherine B. Davis:

Women need the vote for their own protection, but I don't want to appeal to you to consider it for selfish reasons, but for higher motives, to make the Government the best that it possibly can be for the people. . . we want to be able to help select the best people for all the departments. We want to protect those who are weaker than we are.

Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee:

My immediate reason for favoring the enfranchisement of women is that the most serious problems of the present day are industrial, and our whole industrial system is affected by the employment of women and children.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise:

We believe in equal suffrage because we believe in the fundamental rightness of democracy. . . .

Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the U. S. Industrial Commission:

I call it the duty of every labor man and of every associated worker in the great cause of labor to work to the limit of his capacity and vote for the enfranchisement of the women of every State of this Union. . .

Mary Johnston:

I am convinced of the eventual benefit . . . of the suffrage for women, and not only to women themselves, but to the race at large.

Archbishop Thomas O'Shea, of Wellington, New Zealand:

Woman suffrage has been in operation in New Zealand for 25 years, and every one of those 25 years has been marked by progress toward better government. . . . Women were in the fore-front in bringing about arbitration of strikes, child labor abolition, regulated hours for workers and other reforms that have improved the condition of the workers.

President Thomas of Bryn Mawr College:

I confidently expect that woman suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated public spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliating conditions.

President McCracken of Vassar College:

In my capacity as teacher of men at Yale University and of women at Smith College, I have found from the point of view of education no essential difference in their grasp and mastery of intellectual problems. Any educational advantages, therefore, which belong to the one sex should, so far as I am concerned, belong properly also to the other; and since I have found the vote an educational factor in my own life I sincerely desire that it may soon be extended to women.

Hon. George E. Morris, Chief Justice, Superior Court of Washington:

The result of woman suffrage has been most beneficial in Washington, and if it were again to be submitted to the male voters of the State it would carry a much larger majority than at the time of its submission.

Mrs. Julian Heath, President of the Housewives League:

As soon as I made the Housewives League an economic factor, the women's vote became a necessity.

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Thomas Edison:
Women should have the vote on all questions involving the education of their children, on all moral questions and on matters affecting their work.

Frederick C. Howe:
We invite women back to municipal affairs as the chief corrective of the evils which underlie most of our municipal problems.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman:
As soon as we get the new view of government—that of service—incorporated in our minds, it will do much to alter the objection to giving women the ballot.

Ellen Glasgow:
True democracy means, if anything, neither class government nor sex government, but a government of all the people by all the people. Evolution has brought us to the recognition of the political equality of men. It is evolution, it is the law of progressive democracy that is leading us inevitably to the enfranchisement of women.

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DIVISION XI

THE NUMBER OF WOMEN VOTERS AT VARIOUS ELECTIONS

I. THE APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES VOTING AT THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL OR GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION HELD AFTER THEIR ENFRANCHISEMENT

In no State where women have suffrage, except in Illinois, are separate figures kept for the number of women registering and voting. But the following analysis shows how we may find the approximate number of women in a State voting at the first Presidential or Gubernatorial election held after their enfranchisement.

The analysis has been made by Mary Sumner Boyd, Secretary of the Data Department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and is reprinted from the Headquarters "News Letter," May, 1916.

ARIZONA
(Full suffrage granted November, 1912)

1912....Population..... 222,319
1914....Population..... 239,053

1912....Presidential Election.....Vote: 23,987—Men
1914....Gubernatorial Election.....Vote: 59,186—Men and Women

"The 7% increase in population should raise the male vote to a little under 25,677 in 1914. This would show that to make up the 59,186 total, **over 30,000 women voted.** Considering that there are 169 men to 100 women in Arizona, the proportion of the women of this State voting is thus shown to be very much larger than of men, and this would be true even if we grant that the men may have voted way out of proportion to increase in population."

OREGON
(Full suffrage granted November, 1912)

1912....Population..... 727,412
1914....Population..... 782,239

1912....Presidential Election.....Vote: 137,040—Men
1914....Gubernatorial Election.....Vote: 248,058—Men and Women

"Population has increased about 7%, so we should expect a male vote in 1914 of 146,633. **This leaves of women voting in 1914, about 102,000.** Since there are less than two-thirds as many women as men in the State, this is the right proportion."

KANSAS
(Full suffrage granted November, 1912)

1912....Population..... 1,738,950
1914....Population..... 1,820,595

1912....Presidential Election.....Vote: 365,444—Men
1914....Gubernatorial Election.....Vote: 689,173—Men and Women

"At the rate of 2% increase shown by the population of 1914, male voters should have increased to 373,000, leaving a balance of about 315,000 voters who were women, or over 84% as many women voting as men in a State where men outnumber women 116 to 100. This would make it appear that **85% to 90% of the women of this State who could vote met their responsibility."**

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WASHINGTON
(Full suffrage granted in 1910)

1910	Population	1,141,990
1912	Population	1,270,000

1908	Presidential Election	Vote:	183,879—Men
1912	Presidential Election	Vote:	322,799—Men and Women

"The rate of population increase over a two-year period here is about 10%, which would raise the male vote in 1912 to about 185,000. We will raise this to 200,000, since the preceding election was in 1908, **which leaves about 122,800 women voters in** 1912, or not far from two-thirds as many women as men. There are in Washington less than 66% as many women as men (159 men to 100 women)."

CALIFORNIA
(Full suffrage granted November, 1911)

1910	Population	2,377,549
1912	Population	2,564,642

1910	Gubernatorial Election	Vote:	325,652—Men
1912	Presidential Election	Vote:	673,527—Men and Women

"With about 7% population increase in this State, male voters should have increased by 1912 to 348,444. This leaves in a State where there are 137 men to 100 women about **325,000 women voting in 1912,** which means that they furnished their full quota."

COLORADO
(Full suffrage granted in 1893)

"At the 1892 Presidential Election, 93,843 men voted; at that of 1896, 189,141 men and women voted. Applying census rate during these years, the population had increased less than 12%, so 105,000 men should have voted in 1896. This gives us **84,000 women voting in this year,** or 45% of the total vote—almost a full half of the votes were women in a State where there are about 25% more men than women (127 men to 100 women)."

IDAHO
(Full suffrage granted in 1896)

"In 1892, 16,409 men voted in Idaho. At the next Presidential Election, 1900, the population had increased 72%, so about 29,000 men could be expected to vote. As a matter of fact, 57,900 voters turned out, so that almost 50% of the vote can be credited to women in a State which has 25% more men than women."

UTAH AND WYOMING
(Full suffrage granted in 1896 and in 1869)

"Women have voted throughout statehood, so it is impossible to compare the vote before and after equal suffrage. But something can be said in regard to figures for voters over a ten-year period, though the proportion of men to women cannot be given. In Utah, between 1900 and 1910, the population increased one-third and the vote increased a very small fraction under a third, so that the two have kept pace."

In Wyoming, between 1900 and 1910, the population increased 56%, while the vote increased very nearly 75%—that is, it has out-run population by almost 20%.

ILLINOIS
(Presidential and Municipal Suffrage granted in 1913)

II. WOMEN VOTERS AT CHICAGO ELECTIONS

(The following is reprinted from "The Woman's Journal," January 15, 1916.)

"Chicago, with women registering and voting, polled last year the largest percentage of its registered vote at a city election that it has polled in the last twenty years, according to a report of the Board of Election Commissioners for 1915. Eighty-eight per cent. of all voters registered went to the polls at the mayoralty election last

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year, whereas at the preceding mayoralty election in 1911, when women could not vote, 87 per cent. voted; in 1907, 86%; in 1903, 84%, and in 1899, 85%.

"Still more significant is the fact that the report shows that 79% of the possible registered vote was registered, while at the mayoralty election of 1911, when women could not vote, only 76% was registered, and in 1907, 77%. Of the 977,052 men and women possible voters last year, 775,779 were registered and 684,681 went to the polls.

"In the face of these figures in the second largest city in the country, it is idle to say that women would not use or do not want the vote."

VOTE AT CHICAGO MAYORALTY ELECTIONS OF 1911 AND 1915 COMPARED*

"The last two mayoralty elections in Chicago show in striking manner the interest which women take in the ballot when they have it.

"In 1911 men alone could vote. In 1915 both men and women could vote. These figures are taken from the annual report of the Board of Election Commissioners of Chicago":

Year	Population	Possible Registered Vote	Actual Registered Vote	Percentage Registered	Vote Cast	Percentage of Registered Vote Cast
1911	2,245,404	561,351	425,924	.76	370,352	.87
1915	2,442,632	977,052	775,779	.79	684,681	.88

THE NUMBER OF WOMEN WHO REGISTERED FOR AND VOTED AT CHICAGO ELECTIONS, 1914–1915

The number of women who registered for and voted at Chicago elections, 1914–1915.

Also the percentage of those registered who voted.**

		Registration	Vote	Per Cent.
February,	1914—Municipal Primaries	158,524	47,674	30.07
February,	1914—Municipal Primaries	217,614	169,707	77.98
April,	1914—Municipal Election	207,170	62,824	30.32
September,	1914—County Primaries	165,168	123,160	74.56
November,	1914—County Election	218,712	154,750	70.64
February,	1915—Mayoralty Primaries	282,483	243,797	86.5
April 6,	1915—Mayoralty Election			

WOMEN'S VOTE AT PRIMARY ELECTIONS

The vote cast by women for each political party at the Primary Election, February, 1914; September, 1914, and February, 1915, was as follows:†

Party	Feb., 1914	Sept., 1914	Feb., 1915
Democratic	33,394	41,196	93,965
Republican	10,160	18,362	59,734
Progressive	3,405	3,015	824
Socialist	594	251	227
Total	47,674	62,824	154,750

* Reprinted from "The Woman's Journal," January 15, 1916.

** Table compiled from "The Woman's Journal," March 6 and April 17, 1915.

† Table reprinted from "The Woman's Journal," March 6, 1915.

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III. PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN WHO VOTE IN NORWAY, FINLAND, ICELAND, SWEDEN, DENMARK, NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA

The following figures are taken from "Woman Suffrage"—History, Arguments and Results—(1917 edition), published by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company.*

NORWAY

Approximate number of women eligible to vote	380,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	70

FINLAND

Number of women eligible to vote	707,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	54 to 60

ICELAND

Approximate number of women eligible to vote	11,000
Estimated percentage of women eligible who vote	50 to 80

SWEDEN

Approximate number of women having the municipal franchise	1,400,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	15.2 to 32.9

DENMARK

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women and wives of men who pay taxes	1908
Full suffrage granted to women	1915
Percentage of women eligible who vote	38 to 70

NEW ZEALAND

Approximate number of women eligible to vote	300,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	74 to 85

AUSTRALIA

Number of women having franchise in Federated Australia	1,100,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	40 to 60

IV. THE NUMBER OF WOMEN ENROLLED AND VOTING AT THE GENERAL ELECTIONS TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, NEW ZEALAND, FROM 1893–1911

(The following is reprinted from "Woman Suffrage in Practice" [1913], the official Handbook of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.)

"As the franchise, both for the Municipal Councils and for the Legislative Assembly, is on an adult basis, the number of women qualified is almost as great as that of men. Complete returns are made of the elections to the Legislative Assembly, and the table below shows that the women register in as great a percentage as the men, and that the percentage voting is almost as high. At the first election a higher percentage of women exercised their vote, namely 85.18 per cent. of women against 66.61 per cent. of men. Reference to the figures of the elections before 1893 shows that the introduction of the women's vote has apparently had the effect of increasing the interest in elections."

(See following table.)

* Data regarding the franchise in each of these countries, pages, 18–19.

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GENERAL ELECTIONS TO THE NEW ZEALAND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVES)
Table compiled from the "New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1911."

	Number on Electoral Rolls			Percentage of Adults Registered as Electors		Number Who Voted			Percentage on Rolls Voting		
	Males	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Males	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Total
1893	193,536	109,461	302,997	†	78.48	129,792	90,290	220,082	66.61*	85.18*	75.25*
1896	196,925	142,305	339,230	99.96	89.13	149,471	108,783	258,254	75.90	76.44	76.13
1899	210,529	163,215	373,744	98.02	95.24	159,780	119,550	279,330	79.06*	75.70*	77.59*
1902	229,845	185,944	415,789	98.39	94.97	180,294‡	138,565‡	318,859†	73.44	74.52	76.69
1905	263,597	212,876	476,473	96.49	93 80	221,611‡	175,046‡	366,657‡	84.07	82.23	83.25
1908	294,073	242,930	537,003	99.54	99.76	238,534‡	190,114‡	428,648‡	81.11	78.26	79.82
1911	321,000	269,009	590,009	.....	.....	271,054	221,858	492,912	84.43	82.47	83.54

V. THE NUMBER OF WOMEN ENROLLED AND VOTING AT THE AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL ELECTIONS, 1903, 1906 AND 1910

(The following is reprinted from "Woman Suffrage in Practice" [1913], the official Handbook of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.)

"Full returns are given of the elections to both Houses of the Federal Parliament . . . They show that over one million Australian women are enfranchised and further afford a complete refutation of the statement that the women of Australia do not use their vote. Taking into consideration that men are largely in the majority in Australia, it is evident by referring to the figures that women are enrolled in as great a percentage as men. . . . The average percentage of women voting . . . for the Commonwealth Senate, in 1910, is 56.17 per cent. as against 67.58 per cent. of the men. Two general remarks may be made; first, that since women secured the Federal vote the percentage not only of women voting, but of men voting, has steadily increased throughout Australia; second, that the percentage of the women's votes, for both the Federal Houses in 1910 stands at a figure higher than the percentage of men voting either in 1903 or in 1906 for every State except Tasmania."

VI. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF VOTES IN 1912-1916§

The figures concerning population are taken from the United States Census for 1910. The figures concerning the vote in the presidential elections are taken from the *World Almanac* of the current year.

STATES WHERE WOMEN VOTED IN 1912 AND 1916

	Males Over 21	Females Over 21	Total Males and Females Over 21	Total Male & Female Vote for President in 1912	Total Male & Female Vote for President in 1916
California	920,391	671,386	1,591,783	673,527	999,603
Colorado	271,648	213,425	485,073	266,871	294,375
Idaho	110,863	69,818	180,681	105,755	134,615
Utah	104,115	85,729	189,844	112,385	142,762
Washington	441,294	277,727	719,021	322,799	379,459
Wyoming	63,201	28,840	92,041	42,296	51,842
Total	1,911,518	1,346,925	3,258,443	1,523,633	2,002,656

* Excluding figures for three electorates in which there was no contest.
† The number on the rolls exceeded the estimated adult male population at the time of the election.
‡ Including informal votes.
1911 figures supplied by Mrs. Sheppard of New Zealand.
§ *News Letter*. Last column supplemented.

NOTE.—At the General Election of 1879, 53 per cent. of the men registered as electors voted; in 1881, 55 per cent.; in 1884, 54 per cent.; in 1887, 63 per cent.; and in 1890, 74 per cent.

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STATES WHERE WOMEN DID NOT VOTE IN 1912 BUT DID IN 1916

	Males Over 21	Females Over 21	Total Males and Females Over 21	Total Male Vote for President in 1912	Total Male & Female Vote President for in 1916
Arizona	74,051	43,891	117,942	23,722	58,021
Kansas	508,529	438,934	947,463	365,444	629,813
Montana	155,017	81,741	236,758	79,910	177,679
Nevada	40,026	18,140	58,166	20,115	32,978
Illinois	1,743,182	1,567,491	3,310,673	1,146,103	2,189,349
Oregon	257,188	168,323	425,511	137,041	261,650
Total	2,777,993	2,318,520	5,096,614	1,772,335	3,349,490
	1,911,518	1,346,925	3,258,443	1,523,633	2,002,656
Totals	4,689,511	3,665,445	8,355,059	3,295,968	5,352,146

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DIVISION XII

ANSWERS TO SOME OBJECTIONS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

"The Woman's Protest," organ of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, published a list of questions inviting suffragists to explain certain facts and figures. The objections were answered by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in "The Woman Voter" (January and February, 1915).

Following are some of the questions and answers:

(Q) Suffragists say women should vote because they pay taxes. On this plea the foreign corporation or individual or non-resident who pays taxes should vote. The majority of women are not taxpayers, however, and their addition to the electorate would only increase the number of voters who do not pay taxes. Do Suffragists advocate further extension of irresponsibility?

(A) The difference between women and the foreign corporation or individual or non-resident is that when taxes become oppressive the foreign corporation or individual may become naturalized and the non-resident may become a resident and vote. There is nothing women can do to protect themselves against unjust taxation.

(Q) If women are competent to vote on every question, why not allow them to vote on their own enfranchisement?

(A) Suffragists would be very glad if the question could be settled by the vote of women. They oppose it because it is an unconstitutional proposition and it cannot be made constitutional.

(Q) In view of the fact that woman suffrage proposes another duty to woman, an unnecessary duty inconsistent with her highest natural duties and functions, and furthermore, involves great risk and additional expense to the State, we have a right to ask what it can do to improve civic conditions, and where it has done so. If Suffragists cannot prove "votes for women" are worth while, how can they show any reason why woman suffrage should not be rejected?

(A) The sole plea for woman suffrage is that women are human beings, citizens of a republic which makes its boast that its laws and institutions are based upon the will of the majority. Suffragists hold that the opinions of women are worth as much to them as men's opinions are worth to them. When it is made necessary for the vast numbers of foreigners pouring through our gates to prove that votes for foreigners are worth while; when it comes about that boys just turned twenty-one are forced to prove that votes for boys are worth while, then it will be an intelligent demand to put to women that they, too, must prove that votes for women are worth while. Meanwhile, although suffragists have proved over and over again that votes for women have accomplished great good for women, for children and for the community, yet they hold that this demand is illogical and outrageous.

(Q) An electorate, like a standing army, is a governmental instrument to carry out the will of the people. Its extension can only be advocated as a necessity or a service to the common good. Where and when have women proved their supreme moral influence as the mothers, wives, daughters, sisters and teachers of men as "inferior" to the ballots and bullets that men must sometimes use? What reason can Suffragists give for asking women to use the weapons of men in a vain attempt to exercise political power when the wishes of women and the wisdom of the centuries teach us to rely on the moral might that women wield in the church, the school and the home where our citizens are made and molded—by women?

(A) "An electorate is a governmental instrument to carry out the will of the people." Right, and because women form half of the people, it follows that the electorate cannot carry out the will of that people unless their voices are counted in the votes to be taken. If it be true that the wishes of women and the wisdom of the centuries teach us to rely on the moral might that women wield in the church, school and home, then it follows equally that the wishes of men and the wisdom of the centuries teach us to rely on their moral influence and not on votes. In other words, any argument, any excuse which can bar women from the electorate of this country, applies with equal wisdom and equal logic to the votes of men.

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SUFFRAGE AND MARRIAGE*

"Suffragists and Feminists are the enemies of marriage and the home."

The National American Woman Suffrage Association at its annual convention in Washington in December, 1915, passed the following resolution by a unanimous vote:

"That we believe the home is the foundation of the State; we believe in the sanctity of the marriage relation; and, furthermore, we believe that woman's ballot will strengthen the power of the home, and sustain the dignity and sacredness of marriage; and we denounce as a gross slander the charges made by opponents of equal suffrage that its advocates as a class entertain opinions to the contrary."

THE IGNORANT VOTE*

"It would double the ignorant vote."

Statistics published by the National Bureau of Education show that the high schools of every State in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—some of them twice and three times as many. Because of the growing tendency to take boys out of school early in order to put them into business, girls are getting more schooling than boys. Equal suffrage would increase the proportion of voters who have received more than a merely elementary education.

THE FOREIGN VOTE*

"It would double the foreign vote."

Less than one-third of the immigrants coming to this country are women. According to the latest census, there are in the United States nearly three times as many native-born women as all the foreign-born men and foreign-born women put together.

THE CRIMINAL VOTE*

"To the vote of every criminal man, you would add the vote of a criminal woman."

The vicious and criminal class is comparatively small among women.

In the prisons of the United States as a whole, including those for all kinds of offences, women constitute only five and one-half per cent. of the prisoners, and the proportion is growing smaller.

Equal suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very largely, while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. This is a matter not of conjecture but of statistics.

THE COST OF ELECTIONS

By MARY SUMNER BOYD

[Reprinted from the Data Department of the *"Headquarters News Letter."*]

Among the irrelevancies imported by the anti-suffragists into the discussion of woman suffrage is the objection that the increase of election expense will enormously increase the burden of taxation. The argument would, if true, as the *New York World* points out, prove more than the antis desire—or more than they would care to stand by openly—for it would prove all popular suffrage a waste of money. But the criticism is in reality used for more than it is worth.

The anti-suffragists try to impress election expenses by naming enormous lump sums. They tell of a million and a half for the election of 1914 in Pennsylvania, without putting the expense on the basis of 20 cents per capita, or stating its relation to other State or city expenditures.

In reality election expenditures are among the small items in a budget. In the 1914 budget of New York, the total was between seven and eight tenths of one per cent. of the total expenditures for the city; in Chicago, with the women voting, it was a little over one per cent.

Figures for San Francisco show in 1911 (men voting) a per capita cost of 52 cents; the women's first vote in 1912 raised the cost only to 57 cents; to 70 cents in 1913 and down again to 57 cents in 1914. In 1915 the cost was 42½ cents, actually lower than before women voted.

The San Francisco figures are not explained, but their apparent irrationality carries the suggestion that there are many other elements besides the number of voters to be considered in connection with the cost of elections.

*Reprinted from "Objections Answered" by Alice Stone Blackwell, and Published by National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company.

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Much more is to be gained from Chicago. For many years before woman suffrage, the growing cost of elections had been recognized as a problem there, and the doubling of the electorate by the woman suffrage law was the occasion of a thorough investigation and report by the Board of Election Commissioners (1915).

Per capita figures for election expenses in the three years preceding the woman suffrage law, given in the Chicago report, are: 1911, 23 cents; 1912, 40 cents; 1913, 17 cents. In 1914, the first year women voted, the cost was 47 cents. This, though a large sum, was only seven cents more than in the presidential year, two years before women voted. In 1915 the cost went down to 32 cents. In 1914 they had a re-organization of the election machinery in Chicago, which entailed an election expense they never had had before. The Chief Clerk of the Board of Elections contrasts the election activities in the presidential year with 1914, showing two elections, two primaries, two registrations, in the former year, three elections, three primaries, three registrations, revisions and canvasses in 1914. All this additional work cost heavily, and in view of this large outlay for matters unconnected with women's voting, the expense of 32 cents in 1915 may be regarded as representing the normal cost of votes of men and women together. In comparing the male vote with the vote of both sexes, it is best to leave out of account the expensive presidential year, and take 1911, when the per capita cost was 23 cents. In equal suffrage, 1915, it was 32 cents, less than fifty per cent. increase in per capita cost. The lump sum in 1911, this average year before woman suffrage, was $519,373.18; in 1915 the lump sum was $785,969.00, less than fifty per cent. increase on lump as well as per capita cost.

The economical male vote of 1913 (17 cents) was not characteristic because for some reason unexplained in the report the vote in that year was, by many hundred thousand, the smallest polled in eight years.

There was in these Chicago equal suffrage elections, none of the "doubling," talked about by the antis, of any item of election expense, except the mere printing of ballots. The number of polling places, though in a crowded city where you would expect the previous polling places to have been used to capacity, was only increased 50 per cent., and this is the next biggest item of increase, after the ballots.

In the presidential election of 1916 the report estimates that the women voters will cost less than $800,000 out of a total cost of that election of $2,500,000—so the actual increase in cost to Chicago will be a little over a third.

But this is not all the story. It costs Chicago about a third more, at Chicago's rate of spending; but some cities without women voters are spending as much or more than Chicago. We are able from this report to compare Chicago with nine other large cities.* Three of these paid more per capita than Chicago, and only two paid more than a third less. Of the two that were very much under a third less than Chicago, Milwaukee is unique among the ten cities in the lowness of its cost; and Pittsburgh had less election activities than Chicago in the year chosen.

San Francisco (42½ cents) stands at the very top, even ahead of St. Louis (38 cents). Although the man-suffrage city comes too near it to do any boasting, it would be easy to point to woman suffrage extravagance as the cause of San Francisco's large bill, if it were not for the fact that the figures already given for an election before woman suffrage show expenditures as great or greater. Elections at San Francisco appear, therefore, to cost heavily in part at least because of other causes than woman suffrage.

The comparison of Chicago with New York is particularly interesting. In a year in which New York had just the same election activities as Chicago, its election expenses cost 27 cents per capita as against 32 cents for Chicago, or only five cents more.

New York had a population of 5,600,000, Chicago, 2,442,000; on the Chicago population the New York per capita would have been the enormous sum of 60 cents, and for this sum New York would have voted 944,826 persons, whereas for its 32 cents per capita Chicago votes 1,370,480 persons, the largest number of voters of any city in America.

The key to these differences lies in cost per vote—that is, in economy or extravagance in expenditures. New York votes, at the elections compared above, cost $1.60 apiece; Chicago votes cost 57 cents apiece. Milwaukee alone of the eight male suffrage cities cost less per vote than Chicago.

* City	Cost per Capita	Cost per vote
New York City	27	$1.60
Cleveland	22	.97
Omaha	22¼	.97
Toledo	34½	.93
Pittsburgh	17¼	.86
Boston	22	.75
St. Louis	38	.60
San Francisco	42½	.60
Milwaukee	13	.45
Chicago	32	.57

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A small number of voters may be expensive out of all proportion; a body of voters that uses the election machinery to capacity may be cheap. Large scale production is cheap, small scale production expensive. The phenomenally small vote quoted at the Chicago election of 1913, though cheaper per capita, shows the greatest cost per vote in a ten-year period, and the election of 1915 shares with one other year over an eight-year period, the smallest cost per vote.

The principle underlying all this is laid down by the Chicago commissioners.

"It is customary in our day and age to weigh the value of any enterprise in dollars and cents. Sometimes this is a just determination of values—sometimes not."

"The distinction between just and unjust lies," say the commissioners, "in whether you test by this standard *cost of elections* which must be high in proportion to the democracy of the suffrage, and *cost of conducting* elections, which should always be reduced as far as possible."

This latter cost Chicago, faced by a sudden doubling of the electorate, is taking steps to cut. The election commissioners, in co-operation with a committee of voting men and women, brought a bill before the last Illinois legislature which, by cutting out extravagances, complexities and duplications in the methods of conducting elections, would have saved $1,000,000 in the elections of 1916. The legislature—*not*, be it remembered, elected by women!—failed to pass the bill.

Which is better—to have saved $800,000 by cutting out women voters in 1916 or to save $1,000,000 by cutting out extravagance?

The commissioners give the answer, for they hold that to swell the expression of public opinion at the polls to the fullest possible volume is not a waste of money; that it is on the contrary "the duty of public officials and lawmakers and one of the foundation stones of American Civil Government."

It is this broad suffrage itself that has taught the Chicago commissioners the necessity of cutting out extravagance.

On the Board of Voting citizens who framed the law that would have established economy in elections in Chicago sat six women who had been largely instrumental in getting the suffrage law through.

We cannot help but reflect that a doubling of the electorate in any large city—say New York with its colossal extravagance in elections—which called in women's natural instincts for housekeeping economy to help devise such extensive plans for saving expense as those urged on the Illinois legislation, would show the woman voter not a money-waster but a real municipal housekeeper.

WOMEN VOTERS AND JURY SERVICE

By MARY SUMNER BOYD

[Excerpts from the Leaflet "Must Women Serve on Juries?"*]

"In the last Nebraska campaign Representative Slabaugh, speaking for the antis, made much of enforced jury service by women voters. The word male in Nebraska Jury Law had been pointed out by women suffragists, but this gentleman held that 'even where male appears, it would be stricken out in consonance with the spirit of woman suffrage. In all states where woman suffrage prevails women are compelled to serve on juries.'

"This is a stock contention of the antis wherever woman suffrage is agitated. Woman suffragists themselves have, for the most part, supposed that with the granting of political rights to women went the same civil responsibilities as were borne by the other half of the electorate. . . . As a matter of fact, in some of those states they do serve legally, in others they do not, and never have; and in still others where they have served they have been drawn by local magistrates actually in contravention of the law."

"In only one suffrage state, Idaho, has the word man or male in the Jury Law been so interpreted as to force jury duty on women, and in this state the compulsion is largely theoretical."

Jury Service by Women		Remarks.
Arizona:	No	
Alaska:	No	
California:	No	Local magistrates at San Mateo, etc., without consulting the law, drew women on juries. An effort was made (1915) to pass a law making them eligible, but the bill failed.

* Published by National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company

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	Jury Service by Women	Remarks
Colorado:	No	
Idaho:	Compulsory	"Very rarely indeed do women serve. In practice, if summoned as jurors it is more than likely that the judge would accept an excuse and relieve them from jury duty."—Attorney General.
Illinois:	No	One Chicago judge, during his year of office, and without consulting official opinion, drew women juries, but the practice has been discontinued.
Kansas:	Permitted	Sex serves as an excuse from jury service.
Montana:	No	
Nevada:	Permitted	No women have been drawn as yet on Nevada juries.
Oregon:	No	In special cases in the early days they were drawn by local magistrates.
Utah:		Exempted by special statute.
Washington:	Permitted by act of Legislature	"Women shall not be compelled to serve." Sec. 2, of Jury Law, 1911.
Wyoming:	No	During territorial period in first years of woman suffrage, Justice Howe frequently drew women juries. He was warned that it was unconstitutional and it was discontinued after his resignation.

THE POLL TAX

By MARY SUMNER BOYD

[Reprinted from the Data Department of the "*Headquarters News Letter.*"]

Popular misconception appears to identify the polls, the place for counting the privileged heads of voters, with the poll tax, a remnant of that antiquity when there was no voting, and men had to add to payments of produce and of labor, a payment for their heads—that is, for the very right to live in the realm.

The constitutions of twenty-nine States make mention of this tax—four * to prohibit it as contrary to democratic ideals. "The levying of taxes by the polls is grievous and oppressive and ought to be prohibited," says the Constitution of Maryland.

The United States Government imposes a head tax of **$4.00** on every immigrant at the time of landing.

Twenty-five State constitutions either impose a poll tax, or authorize their legislatures to impose one at need.° The amount varies from one to four dollars in the different States.

It is imposed in ten states † on all adults; in nine ‡ on all male inhabitants; in four § on all male *citizens*, and only in Oklahoma and Rhode Island on all electors as such.

The assertion is constantly made by anti-suffragists that women as voters pay poll taxes in all equal suffrage States, and that they will be forced to do so in all other States as they become enfranchised. Is this charge borne out by the facts just given?

Of the twelve suffrage States, eight levy no poll taxes whatever. Utah, Nevada, Wyoming, and Idaho are permitted by their constitution to levy polls. The Nevada poll tax falls on all male residents except uncivilized Indians, whether citizens or not, and between the ages of 21 and 60. Wyoming levies a tax regardless of sex, and in Idaho the legislature may levy such a tax at need on all adults. In neither of these States does the tax have any relation to the right to vote.

In Utah male citizens pay as citizens, but "this tax" says the Attorney General "has no relation to the right to vote and hold office," except in so far as males are concerned, and it has for this reason not been extended to the women citizens of Utah.

So the answer, when the antis tell of this burden on the women voters of to-day, is that *not one woman is to-day paying a poll tax as a voter.* The women who do pay the tax are only continuing to pay exactly the same tax they paid before they had the

* Oregon, Ohio, Maryland and California—the latter, by an amendment in 1915.

° In a few States a poll tax is required (by Statute and not by Constitutional provision) from voters on certain local measures or officials.

† Texas, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Idaho, Wyoming, Kentucky, So. Carolina, Florida and Georgia.

‡ Louisiana, Arkansas, Nevada, Alabama, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, North Dakota and Mississippi.

§ Utah, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Tennessee.

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vote; and the facts given before show that voting women are now paying the poll tax in eight non-suffrage States. In only two States in the Union, Rhode Island and Oklahoma, will they ever have a head tax imposed upon them as a direct penalty for the right to vote. They will vote at some future day in Rhode Island at the cost of $1.00 per year—in Oklahoma, at a cost of $2.00.

The poll tax, being based on no tangible object but on the person himself, is easy to evade, and being unpopular on account of its undemocratic basis, it is notoriously evaded. In 1914, in spite of the many million adults throughout the Union subject to state poll taxes, a total of only two million dollars was collected.

For this reason all but six * of the States that impose such a tax, whether on adults, male adults or male citizens, have cannily provided that at least one section of the population shall prove that they have met their obligation to the State by showing their poll tax receipt before they vote. This means simply that in the eight non-suffrage States where women are now liable for this tax they will, when they are enfranchised, be held up at the polling booth to prove prepayment of a debt that they owe the State whether voters or not. It does not mean that in those States where males only are subject to the tax, the fact that women become voting citizens will make them also subject.

* Utah, West Virginia, North Dakota, Maine, Idaho and Wyoming.

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DIVISION XIII

CERTAIN LAWS AFFECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN

STATE CHART†

(1) Equal Guardianship Law; (2) Mothers' Pension Law; (3) Injunction and Abatement Law; (4) Eight Hour Work Day for Women; (5) Minimum Wage Law for Women and Minors.

	(1) States with an Equal Guardianship Law making the mother an equal guardian with the father of minor children.* (2) States without this law.	States with a Mothers' Pension Law, and year of passing it.**	States with an Injunction and Abatement Law, and year of passing it.	States with an Eight Hour Work Day for Women in Certain Employments.	Minimum Wage Law for Women and Minors.††
Alabama	Mother has some but not equal rights with father.	....	....	....	....
Arizona (Suffrage granted 1912)	Mother has some but not equal rights with father.	***	Yes (1915)	Yes	....
Arkansas	Father is sole guardian.	....	....	....	Yes (1915)
California (Suffrage granted 1911)	Equal Guardianship Law (passed after Suffrage granted).	Yes (passed 1913)	Yes (1914)	Yes	Yes (1913)
Colorado (Suffrage granted 1893)	Equal Guardianship Law (passed after Suffrage granted.)	Yes (passed 1912)	Yes (1915)	Yes	Yes (1913)
Connecticut	Equal guardianship but father has right to child's earnings.	....	....	....	....
Delaware	Father may will or deed away child without mother's consent.	....	....	....	....
Dist. of Columbia	Equal Guardianship Law.	....	Yes (1914)	Yes	....
Florida	Father may will or deed away child without mother's consent.	....	....	....	....
Georgia	Mother has some but not equal rights with father.	....	....	....	....
Idaho (Suffrage granted 1896)	Equal Guardianship Law (passed after Suffrage granted.)	Yes (1913)	Yes (1915)	....	....
Illinois (Partial Suffrage granted 1913)	Equal Guardianship Law.	Yes (1911–1913)	Yes (1915)	....	....

* See Guardianship Laws in Practice, page 135.
†† See Minimum Wage Law, page 160.
** See Digest of Mothers' Pension Laws, page 142.
*** Mothers' Pension Law passed 1913, but declared unconstitutional.
† List of certain laws passed since the granting of woman suffrage in the several States, see page 105.

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CERTAIN LAWS AFFECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN—Continued

	(1) States with an Equal Guardianship Law making the mother an equal guardian with the father of minor children.* (2) States without this law.	States with a Mothers' Pension Law, and year of passing it.**	States with an Injunction and Abatement Law, and year of passing it.	States with an Eight Hour Work Day for Women in Certain Employments.	Minimum Wage Law for Women and Minors.
Indiana	Father is sole guardian.	....	Yes (1915)	....	....
Iowa	Equal Guardianship Law.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1909)	....	....
Kansas (Suffrage granted 1912)	Equal Guardianship Law.	Yes (1915)	Yes (1913)	....	Yes (1915)
Kentucky	Equal guardianship but father has right to child's earnings.	....	....	....	....
Louisiana	Father is sole guardian.	....	....	....	....
Maine	Equal Guardianship Law.	....	Yes (1891)	....	....
Maryland	Father may will or deed away child without mother's consent.	Yes (1916)	....	....	....
Massachusetts	Mother has some but not equal rights with father.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1914)	....	Yes (1912)
Michigan	Father is sole guardian.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1915)	....	....
Minnesota	Equal Guardianship Law.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1913)	....	Yes (1913)
Mississippi	Father is sole guardian.	....	....	....	....
Missouri	Equal Guardianship Law.	Kansas City (1911) St. Louis (1913)	....	....	....
Montana (Suffrage granted 1914)	Equal Guardianship Law (passed after Suffrage granted).	Yes (1915)	....	....	....
Nebraska	Mother has some but not equal rights with father.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1911)	....	Yes (1913)
Nevada (Suffrage granted 1914)	Equal Guardianship Law (passed after Suffrage granted).	Yes (1913)	....	Yes (for girls under 18 yrs.)	....
New Hampshire	Equal guardianship.	Yes (1913)	....	....	....
New Jersey	Father is sole guardian.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1916)	....	....
New Mexico	Father is sole guardian.	....	....	....	....
New York	Mother has some but not equal rights with father.	Yes (1915)	Yes (1914)	....	....

* See Guardianship Laws in Practice, page 135.
** See Digest of Mothers' Pension Laws, page 142.

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CERTAIN LAWS AFFECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN—Continued

	(1) States with an Equal Guardianship Law making the mother an equal guardian with the father of minor children.* (2) States without this law.	States with a Mothers' Pension Law, and year of passing it.**	States with an Injunction and Abatement Law, and year of passing it.	States with an Eight Hour Work Day for Women in Certain Employments.	Minimum Wage Law for Women and Minors.
N. Carolina	Father is sole guardian.	....	....	....	....
N. Dakota	Father is sole guardian.	Yes (1915)	Yes (1911)	....	....
Ohio	Father is sole guardian.	Yes (1913)	....	....	....
Oklahoma	Mother has some but not equal rights with father.	Yes (1915)	....	....	....
Oregon (Suffrage granted 1912)	Equal Guardianship Law.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1913)	....	Yes (1913)
Pennsylvania	Mother has some but not equal rights with father.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1913)	....	....
Rhode Island	Father is sole guardian.	....	....	....	....
S. Carolina	Father is sole guardian.	....	....	....	....
S. Dakota	Father is sole guardian.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1913)	....	....
Tennessee	Father may will or deed away child without mother's consent.	Yes (1915)	Yes (1913)	....	....
Texas	Father is sole guardian.	....	Yes (1907)	....	....
Utah (Suffrage granted 1896)	Equal Guardianship Law (passed after Suffrage granted).	Yes (1913)	Yes (1913)	....	Yes (1913)
Vermont	Father is sole guardian.	....	....	....	....
Virginia	Mother has some but not equal rights with father.	....	Yes (1916)	....	....
Washington (Suffrage granted 1910)	Equal Guardianship Law.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1913)	Yes	Yes (1913)
W. Virginia	Father is sole guardian.	Yes (1915)	....	....	....
Wisconsin	Father is sole guardian.	Yes (1913)	Yes (1913)	....	Yes (1913)
Wyoming (Suffrage granted 1869)	Equal Guardianship Law (passed after Suffrage granted).	Yes (1915)	....	....	....

* See Guardianship Laws in Practice, page 135.
** See Digest of Mothers' Pension Laws, page 142.

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GUARDIANSHIP LAWS IN PRACTICE.*

By MARY SUMNER BOYD
Secretary of the Data Department, National American Woman Suffrage Association

Suffragists are often accused of making too great claims for the Equal Guardianship Laws of Equal Suffrage States and of pressing too hard clauses in the guardianship laws of certain male suffrage states which give the father the right to will or deed away his child over the head of the mother. On the latter point it is said that, though on the statute books of a few states, these clauses are not enforced nowadays; on the former, that a large number of the male suffrage states have as good provisions as the equal suffrage states.

To take this last point first, what are the facts?

Ten equal suffrage states have equal guardianship laws which give the mother equal rights with the father in respect to custody, control of education, religion, medical care, etc., of her children, equal rights to their earnings and an equal inheritance right in respect to them.† One, Illinois—a partial suffrage state in which women do not elect state legislators—restricts the mother's right in respect to earnings, to which the father has the first claim. Only the one equal suffrage state of Arizona is still in the black column with those states in which the father is sole guardian.

Twenty-one male suffrage states belong in this black column.‡ Of the others, the so-called "equal" guardianship male suffrage states, only six provide equality of the model type enjoyed by the ten equal suffrage states. These are:

Iowa,
Maine,
Minnesota,
Missouri,
New Hampshire and
Virginia.

In the following states, equality is violated by the father's right to the children's earnings:

Connecticut,
Kentucky,
Nebraska and
Massachusetts.

Equality is almost obliterated in five other states, where the father is, in varying degree in the different states, given rights to earnings, services, control of education, religion, medical care, superior inheritance rights and, in many other respects, a very decided preference over the mother. The states follow—it is hard to arrange them in order of demerit, as all are so bad—

Oklahoma,
New York,
Georgia,
Pennsylvania and
Alabama.

Thus, out of the 15 male suffrage states for which equal guardianship is claimed, only six come up to the standard, and over against these we can set ten out of twelve equal suffrage states with guardianship laws which are model in form.

THREE INIQUITOUS GUARDIANSHIP LAWS

The Common Law Principle:—"The legal power of a father, for a mother as such is entitled to no power, but only to reverence and respect; the power of a father, I say, over the persons of his children ceases at the age of twenty-one. . . . Yet, till that age arrives, this empire of the father continues even after his death, for he may by his will appoint a guardian for his children." (Even "en ventre sa mere.")—BLACKSTONE, Book 1, Sec. 453.

The Statute Law:—DELAWARE: "A father may by deed or last will name a guardian for his child."—REV. CODE DEL., 1915, Ch. 118, Sub-div. 3916, Sec. 8.

FLORIDA:—"Fathers may appoint guardians for their children during any part of infancy by deed in writing . . . or by last will and testament. . . . A will by the mother of minor children undertaking to give the custody and care of such children to another is a nullity."—1914 CODE, Sec. 2603.

TENNESSEE:—"The father may by will or deed dispose of the custody of any legitimate child under the age of 21 and unmarried during the minority of such child. A mother has no power to appoint a testamentary guardian for her children."—CODE OF 1898, Sec. 4258.

* Reprinted from the "Headquarters News Letter."

† Some guardianship laws are very simple in expression, referring to custody merely, and have to be supplemented by other statutes in order to make clear the full rights of parents over their children.

‡ These states are: Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

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The second point of common criticism is that the clause in the law of the three male guardianship states of Delaware, Florida and Tennessee, which gives the father power to will away his child, is a dead letter on the statute books.

Maryland should probably be added to this group, but, as there is a conflict of opinion and an apparent conflict in the laws of that state relating to guardianship, we shall give it the benefit of the doubt. In other respects also this classification is made in a spirit, not of exaggeration, but of moderation. In West Virginia the father can appoint a testamentary guardian of the child's property over the head of the mother, and in Alabama he can appoint a guardian of the child's person also after he is fourteen years old. But in the three which have been singled out for criticism, he has full and complete right to give away the child from its birth or before (en ventre sa mere). The mother's will in this matter is in these states, as the Florida law expresses it, "a nullity."

That these laws stand on the statute books in disparagement of the mother is sufficient criticism of the attitude of these male suffrage states toward women, even if the law were never applied. That a law which could never in decency be applied is left on the statute books would itself be a criticism.* But as long as a law stands it will sometimes be applied; a "dead letter on the statute books" can be galvanized to life by an unscrupulous or by an over-scrupulous lawyer.

Search for Delaware cases in proof of its actual occasional application was impossible, as the Delaware Digest and Reports were not accessible. In Tennessee it was decided that the mother has no power of appointing a testamentary guardian in 2 Tenn. Chy., 327; 9 Bax., 436; 7 Heis, 466. From Florida comes the following case in recent years:

> "Hernandez v. Thomas, 50 Fla. Reps., 522 (1905). Wife obtained a divorce on ground of desertion, father did not contest suit and especially appeared to agree that the mother should be given the custody of the children. The mother died leaving a will appointing a guardian for the children; father contested and succeeded in obtaining the custody of the children, although it was shown by himself and others that he was financially and personally unable to care for them and had to place them in an institution."

The number of states where the father was irresponsible owner of his child to give or keep at his will was only a few years ago double what it is to-day; earlier still, when there were more common law states, the number was larger still. In those days actual cases of its application were cited from Massachusetts (where it caused the Naramore murder) and New York, as far west as New Mexico. If the cases of recent years have been less easy to find and less flagrant seizures from the mother, it is because the shame of these old cases is too well known.

Not until 1913 did the Georgia father cease to have the right to do as he pleased with his child, and the mother no rights at all. Up to that very year no state gives more examples of the actual enforcement of this theoretical right of the father.

It was an instance of its enforcement which had much to do with changing the law.

A case coming before Judge Henry C. Hammond caused this fair-minded lawyer to write to his county delegation in the lower House putting it to them strongly that in this case he had taken children from their mother "because his hands had been absolutely tied by the peculiar moth-eaten Georgia law." This and agitation over the celebrated Tillman case finally changed the law.

Before this change, 33 Ga. St. Reps., 195, has been cited over and over as the law, and among other things it states that total divorce, awarding custody of the child to the wife, does not empower her to appoint a testamentary guardian if the father survive.

101 Ga. St. Reps., 124, holds that, though the father fails to provide necessaries for his family during temporary separation, a contract of apprenticeship executed by the mother is void as to him.

The father's right to the custody of his child is also upheld in ex parte Davidge, 72 S. C., 16; ex parte Reynolds, 73 S. C., 296, and these decisions hold that the same principles apply to guardians under deed or will.

Ex parte Tillman, 84 S. C., 552, is the most notorious case in Georgia of a father attempting to deed away his two infant girls without the consent of the mother, Senator Tillman and his wife being the respondents to the petition for a writ of habeas corpus filed by the wife and mother. This case was decided in 1909, and the Code was later amended in accordance therewith. The mother had to show conclusively that she was a fit and proper person to have the care of the children as against the grandparents, who claimed under a written deed from their father, who was proved to be a person of intemperate habits. The courts held that the particular provision of the Code in question was a violation of the Constitutional rights of the mother and children as well as an infringement on the judicial branch of the government by the legislative.

* For the cases cited below, thanks are due to Miss Mary O'Toole, of the District of Columbia bar.

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The Tillman case was decided on broad-minded principles; on like principles, undoubtedly, many cases are decided in states with bad laws. Nevertheless the bad cases just cited still stand. Furthermore, few women have Mrs. Tillman's money or power to fight a case through to a finish. Most women do not fight the law at all; they have to accept it as it stands and give up their children without recourse to the courts. It is this large class of women who are the real sufferers under a bad law. This was well understood by the judge who did not make the case before him in the court the occasion for a decision contrary to the letter of the law, but, instead, made it the occasion for having the law changed so that Georgia mothers would no longer have either passively to give up their children or carry their case to the courts.

THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

(Excerpts from an Address by Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, given at the Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, September 23, 1916.)

"The past month has been memorable in the history of child labor reform in America. A three-years' campaign culminated last Friday in the signing of a bill by President Wilson which excludes from the facilities of interstate commerce the exploiters of child labor. It has been estimated that 150,000 children, who now bow under the yoke of excessive toil, will be able to straighten up and look heaven in the face when this law begins to operate on the first of next September. . . .

"I said the law will reach 150,000; but there are 1,850,000 children in the United States who cannot possibly be touched by any Federal legislation. These are wards of the various States; the infant hawkers of news and chewing gum on our city streets; the truck garden conscripts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Colorado and Maryland; the sweating cotton-pickers of Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas; the 90,000 domestic servants under sixteen years old who do the menial drudgery in our American homes, and the pallid cash girls in our city shops and department stores. . . .

"Now that Congress has opened the way, let us press the battle into every stronghold to bring the law in every State and the administration of that law up to a standard that shall give every child a chance to make life significant. To-day the enforcement of child-labor laws in a number of States is a notorious farce. Manned by inefficient inspectors, weighed down by politics, starved by niggardly appropriations, what can we hope from a public service department so handicapped? Here is the crux of the whole problem. We have at last forged the tools to complete the work of emancipating all American childhood, and the next five years must witness the development of a white list of states checked by the efficiency standards of the Federal Government."

PROVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

[Reprinted from "The American Labor Legislation Review," September, 1916.]

UNITED STATES.—No producer, manufacturer, or dealer may ship, deliver for shipment, or transport in interstate or foreign commerce any product (1) of a mine or quarry, situated in the United States, in which within thirty days prior to the removal of the product therefrom children under sixteen have been employed or permitted to work, or (2) of a mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment, situated in the United States, in which within thirty days prior to the removal of the product therefrom children under fourteen have been employed or permitted to work, or children between fourteen and sixteen have been employed or permitted to work more than

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eight hours a day, or more than six days a week, or after 7 p. m. or before 6 a. m. In the case of a dealer the application of the act is limited to shipment, delivery for shipment, or transportation from the state, territory, or district of manufacture or production. A prosecution and conviction for a shipment or delivery for shipment is a bar to any further prosecution of the same defendant for shipments or deliveries for shipment before the beginning of the first prosecution. No dealer is to be prosecuted who establishes a guaranty issued by and containing the name and address of the manufacturer or producer, if a resident of the United States, to the effect that the goods were not produced or manufactured under such conditions that their shipment, delivery for shipment, or transportation is prohibited by the act. If the guaranty contains any false statement of a material fact the guarantor is amenable to the same penalties as provided for other violations. No person is to be prosecuted if the only employment of a child has been that of a child as to whom, and in good faith, the manufacturer or producer procured at the time of employment and has since relied upon and kept on file a certificate showing that the child is of such age that the shipment, delivery for shipment, or transportation is not prohibited by the act. The certificate is to be issued in such form, under such conditions, and by such persons as prescribed by the board referred to below. Any person who knowingly makes a false statement or presents false evidence in or in relation to any such certificate or application therefor is amenable to the same penalties as provided for other violations. In any state designated by the board an employment certificate or other similar paper showing the age of the child, issued under the laws of the state, may be substituted for the certificate. Nothing in the act is to be construed to apply to *bona fide* boys' and girls' canning clubs recognized by agricultural departments of the several states and of the United States. The Attorney-General, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor constitute a board to make uniform regulations for carrying out the act. For the purpose of its proper enforcement, the Secretary of Labor, or any person duly authorized by him, may at any time enter and inspect mines, quarries, mills, canneries, workshops, factories, manufacturing establishments, and other places in which goods are produced or held for interstate commerce. The Secretary of Labor may employ such assistance for the purposes of the act as may from time to time be authorized by appropriation or other law. Every district attorney to whom the Secretary of Labor reports any violation or to whom any state factory, mining, or quarry inspector, commissioner of labor, medical inspector, or school attendance officer, or any other person presents satisfactory evidence of any violation, must cause appropriate proceedings to be commenced and prosecuted in the proper courts of the United States for the enforcement of the penalties for such violation. Any person who ships, delivers for shipment, or transports any goods in violation of the act, or refuses or obstructs entry or inspection authorized by the act, is liable to a fine of not more than $200 for each offense prior to his first conviction under the act, and to a fine of $100-$1,000, or imprisonment for not more than three months, or both, for each offense subsequent to such conviction. (C. 432, 64th Congress, 1st session. In effect, September 1, 1917.)

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What the Federal Child Labor Law will reach†

3 states, permitting children under 14 to work in factories and mills at all times, and 19 more states permitting it by exemption.

16 mining states permitting children under 16 to work in mines; 3 more by exemption.

9 states allowing night work of children under 16; 5 more by exemption.

24 states allowing children under 16 to work more than 8 hours a day in factories; 4 more by exemption.

The Federal Law also clears the way for this†

28 states do not regulate street trades.

20 states* have poor regulation.
(Only Kentucky has a good law.)

23 states* need night messenger laws.

28 states permit children under 16 to work in stores and local establishments more than 8 hours a day.

24 states* exempt from child labor law or school law because of poverty.

5 states have no state-wide compulsory education law.

26 states* do not require medical examination of child entering work.

47 states* do not require medical inspection of children in factories.

* Including District of Columbia.
† Reprinted from leaflet issued by The National Child Labor Committee.

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DIVISION XIII

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN EMPLOYED IN EACH STATE

TABLE ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE (1915)

THE LATEST OFFICIAL FIGURES ON CHILD LABOR

(Compiled from United States Census of Occupations, 1910)

	All Gainful Occupations		Manufacturing and Mechanical (Specified Occupations)		Extraction of Minerals (Specified Occupations)		Agriculture (Specified Occupations)		All Other Occupations	
	10–13 years	14–15 years	10–13 years	14–15 years	10–13 years	14–15 years	10–13 years	14–15 years	10–13 years	14–15 years
Total	**895,976**	**1,094,249**	**27,005**	**176,137**	**2,266**	**15,401**	**799,551**	**621.445**	**67,154**	**281,266**
Alabama	93,594	61,118	2,003	3,141	486	933	87,856	42,355	3,249	14,689
Arizona	620	1,053	5	45	3	28	466	519	146	461
Arkansas	55,079	37,371	324	654	11	73	53,418	34,067	1,326	2,577
California	1,937	9,314	81	1,581	4	43	827	1,986	1,025	5,704
Colorado	1,817	4,047	29	380	33	178	1,375	1,804	380	1,685
Connecticut	679	10,689	43	4,246	...	7	148	721	488	5,715
Delaware	1,294	2,362	34	373	...	1	1,029	1,146	231	842
District of Columbia	247	1,098	3	102	...	...	19	28	225	968
Florida	13,465	11,459	668	1,520	53	69	11,374	7,706	1,370	2,164
Georgia	93,098	68,491	2,784	4,338	35	78	85,852	56,694	4,427	7,381
Idaho	1,028	1,670	10	74	...	...	912	1,252	106	344
Illinois	10,551	45,959	398	9,992	26	215	8,060	15,273	2,067	20,479
Indiana	8,954	24,739	289	4,743	28	557	6,763	11,211	1,874	8,228
Iowa	6,493	17,892	128	1,473	29	311	5,364	11,312	972	4,796
Kansas	6,857	11,873	66	572	17	167	6,120	8,665	654	2,469
Kentucky	31,392	33,300	488	2,483	168	522	28,655	24,496	2,081	5,799
Louisiana	29,943	29,789	449	1,736	2	1	27,092	22,268	2,400	5,784
Maine	856	4,570	154	1,996	2	9	128	1,170	272	1,395
Maryland	7,366	16,801	849	4,028	45	242	4,034	4,995	2,438	7,536
Massachusetts	1,683	31,062	279	18,275	...	25	172	942	1,232	11,820
Michigan	3,690	15,603	103	3,258	...	75	2,332	5,934	1,255	6,336
Minnesota	5,706	12,658	85	843	3	19	4,909	8,442	709	3,354

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN EMPLOYED IN EACH STATE—Continued

	All Gainful Occupations		Manufacturing and Mechanical (Specified Occupations)		Extraction of Minerals (Specified Occupations)		Agriculture (Specified Occupations)		All Other Occupations	
	10–13 years	14–15 years	10–13 years	14–15 years	10–13 years	14–15 years	10–13 years	14–15 years	10–13 years	14–15 years
Mississippi	83,969	54,561	556	1,069	...	...	81,403	50,571	2,010	2,921
Missouri	18,175	34,527	389	5,255	14	249	16,050	19,019	1,722	10,004
Montana	524	1,240	8	78	...	9	392	657	124	496
Nebraska	4,192	8,112	31	313	1	9	3,783	6,150	377	1,640
Nevada	82	204	...	2	3	4	27	82	52	116
New Hampshire	317	3,442	63	2,067	...	9	110	429	144	937
New Jersey	2,183	23,609	259	10,020	3	26	806	1,706	1,115	11,857
New Mexico	2,692	3,114	29	90	10	42	2,401	2,347	252	635
New York	4,852	60,242	518	18,502	3	47	1,566	5,034	2,765	36,659
North Carolina	84,279	60,353	6,344	8,475	15	27	74,080	46,727	3,840	5,124
North Dakota	2,856	4,496	11	53	...	...	2,635	3,641	210	802
Ohio	8,800	34,046	370	8,763	47	793	5,219	10,101	3,164	14,389
Oklahoma	24,608	21,503	70	359	9	47	23,759	19,280	770	1,817
Oregon	930	2,575	29	256	...	1	643	1,349	258	969
Pennsylvania	14,770	82,125	1,272	30,688	529	7,695	7,899	12,341	5,070	31,401
Rhode Island	334	7,742	81	4,712	...	4	33	188	220	2,838
South Carolina	69,232	48,020	4,154	5,506	...	...	62,721	39,343	2,357	3,171
South Dakota	3,363	4,846	1	72	...	6	3,091	3,987	271	781
Tennessee	44,535	39,421	1,029	2,289	188	663	40,132	30,504	3,186	5,965
Texas	102,064	72,316	734	2,204	20	87	98,323	63,263	2,987	6,762
Utah	1,130	2,101	...	94	3	18	948	1,212	179	777
Vermont	521	2,044	18	259	2	36	325	975	176	774
Virginia	29,234	32,645	1,337	3,568	152	469	23,220	21,020	4,525	7,588
Washington	1,285	4,181	51	586	1	31	727	1,515	506	2,049
West Virginia	10,132	13,670	298	1,317	318	1,521	8,402	8,153	1,114	2,679
Wisconsin	4,260	19,638	81	3,670	2	16	3,383	8,537	794	7,415
Wyoming	308	558	...	17	1	39	268	328	39	174

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DIGEST OF THE MOTHERS' PENSION

Excerpts from Digest compiled by the New York State Library and issued 1916. Reprinted by permission. (The

STATE	TO WHOM ALLOWANCE PAID	CONDITIONS ON WHICH ALLOWANCE IS PAID		
		Economic Condition of Parent	Home Condition	Outside Employment
Arizona.....	Widows who are mothers of dependent children; wives whose husbands are consigned to state penal institutions or insane asylums.	Without visible means of support.	No provision.	No provision.
California.....	Dependent mother who is a widow.	No provision.	No provision.	No provision.
Colorado.....	To parent or parents if poor but otherwise proper guardians. May be paid to other person for benefit of child.	Poor and unable to care for child properly.	Such as to conserve the welfare of the child.	No provision.
Idaho.....	Dependent mother who is a widow or whose husband is confined in either state penitentiary, state insane asylum or state home for feeble-minded. May be paid to individual or organization as trustee for mother's benefit.	Aid necessary to save child or children from neglect.	Mother must be a proper person, physically and mentally. Children must be living with mother.	When non-payment of allowance would require mother to work regularly away from home it is paid to enable her to remain at home with her children.
Illinois.....	Dependent mother who is a widow or whose husband is incapacitated by a physical or mental infirmity or who has deserted her for a period of two years prior to application.	Who possesses property of less value than $1,000, who has no relatives able to aid her and aid necessary to save child from neglect.	Mother must be a proper person physically, mentally and morally and it must appear for the welfare of the child to remain at home with the mother.	Mother may be absent for work a definite number of days each week to be specified by the court if such work does not injure mother's health or cause neglect of children.
Iowa.....	Dependent mother who is a widow or whose husband is an inmate of an institution under the state board of control.	Poor and unable to care for child properly.	Mother must be a proper guardian.	No provision.
Kansas.....	Mother who is a widow or divorced or whose husband is incapacitated by a physical or mental infirmity or is an inmate of any penal or other state institution or whose husband has deserted her for at least three months.	Financially unable to support such child.	Mother must be a provident woman of good moral character and a fit person to have the care and custody of children.	No provision.
Maryland.....	Mothers whose husbands are dead with children under 14 years.	Unable to support children or maintain a home.	Mother must be a proper person to bring up her children.	Mother may be absent for work a definite number of days a week, when such work can be done without neglect of her children.

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LAWS IN TWENTY-NINE STATES

provisions of the Maryland Law, passed since the publication of the "Digest," have been included by the Editor.)

AGE OF CHILD, AMOUNT OF ALLOWANCE, SOURCE OF FUNDS				ADMINISTRATION
Residence	Maximum Age of Child	Maximum Monthly Allowance	Source of Funds	Officers
Citizen of the United States and resident five years last preceding application.	16 years.	$15 a month for first child and $6 a month for each additional child.	General fund of state treasury.	State board of control, county boards of supervisors.
Citizen of the United States. Resident three years prior to application.	14 years.	Each child receives $12.50 a month. State pays one-half: city or county the other.	State, county, city and county, city or town.	State board of control, three children's agents appointed by board for whole state. An advisory committee of three in each county.
No provision.	16 years.	Such an amount as will be sufficient to care for child properly. May be paid in cash or supplies.	County, county and city. Earnings of men convicted of non-support, appropriated and paid into fund for maintaining dependent family.	Juvenile court in counties having over 100,000 population. In other counties, the county court.
Resident of the county for at least two years prior to application.	15 years (aid may be discontinued or modified any time).	$10 a month for first child and $5 a month for each additional child.	County general fund.	Probate judge.
Resident of county for at least three years prior to application. Mother must be a citizen of the United States, or have filed application for citizenship or declared her intention of becoming a citizen.	14 years (aid extended to 16th yr. if child is unable to work); aid may be discontinued or modified.	$15 a month for one child; $10 a month for each additional child. Total allowance not to exceed $60 a month. Aid given only to children born in the United States.	Annual county tax not to exceed three-tenths of one mill.	Juvenile court; if none, the county court. Probation officers of court.
Resident of county.	14 years.	$2 a week for each child.	County general fund.	District court and superior courts. Probation officers appointed by court.
Actual and bona fide resident of the county for one year next preceding her application.	16 years.	Such sum as may be reasonably necessary to support such mother and child. Total allowance to any one mother not to exceed $25 a month.	County general fund.	County commissioners. Three reputable women appointed by commissioners.
Resident of a county or of the City of Baltimore for at least three years prior to application.	14 years.	$12 a month for oldest child, $10 a month for next oldest child and $6 a month for each additional child. Total not to exceed $40 a month.	County funds or funds of City of Baltimore.	In City of Baltimore: Board for mothers' relief (3 members appointed by Mayor), or board of supervisors of city charities. In counties: county commissioners.

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DIGEST OF THE MOTHERS' PENSION

STATE	TO WHOM ALLOWANCE PAID	CONDITIONS ON WHICH ALLOWANCE IS PAID		
		Economic Condition of Parent	Home Condition	Outside Employment
Massachusetts..	All mothers with dependent children in need of support.	Without adequate resources and aid is necessary to bring up her children properly.	Mother must be fit to bring up her children. Other members of the household and surroundings must be such as to make for good character.	Mother and dependent children not to be pressed to secure work. Other members of the family able to work shall be pressed to do so.
Michigan.....	Mother who is a widow or unmarried or divorced or deserted by her husband, whose husband is insane, feeble-minded, epileptic or blind and confined in a state institution or who is an inmate of some state penal institution.	Poor and unable to care for child properly.	Mother must be a proper guardian and it must be for the welfare of the child to remain in the custody of the mother.	No provision.
Minnesota.....	Mother who is a widow or whose husband is confined in a penal institution or insane asylum, or because of physical disability is unable to support his family.	Poverty of mother and want of adequate means to care for child properly.	Mother must be a proper person to have the custody of such child and it must be for the welfare of the child to remain with the mother.	No provision.
Missouri.....	Women whose husbands are dead, prisoners, or whose husbands are in hospitals for insane or colony for the feeble-minded and epileptic.	Poverty of mother.	Mother must be a proper person, morally, physically and mentally. Children must be living with the mother.	Allowance made to enable mother to remain at home with her children.
Montana.....	Mother who is a widow or whose husband is an inmate of some institution of charity or correction or who is physically and mentally unable to work, such disability to have occurred while a resident of the state and who has failed to provide for his family for a period of two years or more. Aid to be given to mother.	Mother dependent on her labor for support and aid necessary to save child from neglect.	Mother must be a proper person physically, mentally and morally. Children must be living with the mother.	Allowance made to enable mother to remain at home with her children.
Nebraska.....	To any parent unable to care properly for dependent child.	Limited in means and unable to maintain and educate their children.	Parent must be a proper guardian.	No provision.
Nevada.....	Mother who is a widow or whose husband has deserted her for more than one year or whose husband is totally disabled or an inmate of a penal institution or insane asylum.	Mothers who are deserted and dependent upon their own efforts for the maintenance of their children.	Mother must be a proper person, morally, physically and mentally.	Allowance made to enable mother to maintain a home for her children.
New Hampshire	Dependent mothers.	Mother who is dependent on her own efforts for the support of herself and family.	Mother must be of good repute and a proper person morally, physically and mentally. Children must be living with the mother.	Allowance made to enable mother to remain at home with her children.
New Jersey....	Dependent mother who is a widow.	Mother who is unable to support and educate her children and maintain her home.	Must be such as to insure that the child will be properly cared for.	No provision.

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LAWS IN TWENTY-NINE STATES—Continued

AGE OF CHILD, AMOUNT OF ALLOWANCE, SOURCE OF FUNDS				ADMINISTRATION
Residence	Maximum Age of Child	Maximum Monthly Allowance	Source of Funds	Officers
Residence in the commonwealth not less than three years.	14 years.	No definite amount. Aid furnished shall be sufficient to enable mothers to bring up their children properly in their own homes.	If mother has a lawful settlement, the state pays one-third and city or town two-thirds. If mother has no settlement, state pays all.	State board of charity, Overseers of the poor of each city and town.
No provision.	17 years.	$3 a week for each child.	County general fund.	Probate court. Probate officer.
Continuous residence in the county one year and in the state two years next preceding order for allowance.	14 years (aid may be revoked or modified by court any time).	$10 a month for each child.	County general fund.	Juvenile court in counties over 50,000 population; in other counties judge of probate.
Resident of county for at least two years next prior to application.	14 years (aid may be discontinued or modified).	$10 a month for one child, $5 a month for each additional child. Ordinance of St. Louis, $3.50 a week for each child.	County general fund.	Juvenile court.
Resident of county for at least two years next prior to application.	14 years.	$10 a month for one child, $7.50 a month for second child and $2.50 a month for each additional child.	County general fund.	Juvenile court if one, otherwise judge of district court.
Actual residents of the county one year and of the state two years next prior to application.	No provision.	$10 a month for each child.	From the county general fund.	County judge, county attorney. In counties having over 50,000 inhabitants the district court.
Resident of the county for at least one year next preceding application.	15 years (aid may be discontinued or modified any time).	$15 a month for the first child, $5 a month for each additional child.	From the county general fund.	County commissioners. District attorney.
Resident of the state for at least two years next preceding application.	16 years.	$10 a month for first child, $5 a month for each additional child.	Appropriated by state.	School board of each town or city and state superintendent of the department of public instruction.
Resident of county for at least five years next preceding application.	16 years.	$9 a month for one child, not to exceed $14 a month for two children, and not to exceed $4 a month for each additional child.	County funds.	Court of common pleas of each county. Juvenile court has concurrent jurisdiction in counties of the first class. Overseer of the poor, county counsel, state board of children's guardians. Special commissioner.

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DIGEST OF THE MOTHERS' PENSION

STATE	TO WHOM ALLOWANCE PAID	CONDITIONS ON WHICH ALLOWANCE IS PAID		
		Economic Condition of Parent	Home Condition	Outside Employment
New York.....	Dependent widow whose deceased husband was a citizen of the United States and a resident of the state at the time of his death.	Aid necessary to enable mother to bring up her children.	Mother must be a proper person mentally, morally and physically.	No provision.
North Dakota..	Any woman with children dependent upon her for support.	Aid necessary to save children from neglect and to enable them to grow into useful citizens.	Mother must be a proper person morally, physically and mentally. Child must be living with mother.	Allowance made to enable mother to maintain a suitable home for her children.
Ohio.....	Mother who is a widow or whose husband is permanently incapacitated physically or mentally or who is in prison or who has deserted her for a continuous period of three years. (No aid given to mother who, while her husband is imprisoned, receives sufficient of his wages to support her children.)	Mothers who are poor and aid is necessary to save the children from neglect and avoid breaking up the home.	Mother must be a proper person morally, physically and mentally. Children must be living with mother. It must appear for the benefit of the child to remain with the mother.	Mother may be absent at work for such time as the juvenile court permits.
Oklahoma.....	Indigent women whose husbands are dead or insane or prisoners in any state institution.	Aid necessary to save children from neglect.	Mother must be a proper person morally, physically and mentally. Children must be living with the mother.	Aid granted to enable mother to remain at home with her children.
Oregon.....	Mother whose husband is either dead or an inmate of a state institution or physically or mentally incapacitated and whose support as well as that of the children is dependent wholly or partly upon her labor. May be paid to other person for benefit of mother.	Aid necessary to save child or children from neglect.	Mother must be a proper person physically, mentally and morally. If husband's presence is a menace to physical or moral welfare of mother or children, he may be removed from home.	Mother may be absent for work a definite number of days each week to be specified by the court.
Pennsylvania...	Dependent mother who is a widow or whose husband is permenantly confined in institutions for the insane.	Mother who is poor and dependent on own effort for support.	Mother must be of good repute, of proved character and ability.	No provision.
South Dakota..	Women whose husbands are dead or permanently disabled for work by reason of physical or mental infirmity or who are prisoners. Women granted a divorce and who are poor. Not to apply to woman who, while her husband is imprisoned receives sufficient of his wages to support the children.	Poor. Aid granted, necessary to save children from neglect.	Mother must be a proper person morally, physically and mentally. Children must be living with the mother. It must appear for the benefit of child to remain with mother.	Mother may be absent not more than one day a week for work or when it is deemed necessary.
Tennessee.....	Women whose husbands are dead or disabled mentally or physically as to be unable to aid in the support of the family.	Women who are poor. Aid necessary to save children from neglect.	Mother must be a proper person morally, physically and mentally. Children must be living with the mother.	Aid granted to enable mother to remain at home with her children.

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LAWS IN TWENTY-NINE STATES—Continued

AGE OF CHILD, AMOUNT OF ALLOWANCE, SOURCE OF FUNDS				ADMINISTRATION
Residence	Maximum Age of Child	Maximum Monthly Allowance	Source of Funds	Officers
Resident of the county or city for at least two years next preceding application.	16 years (period of allowance six months; aid may be continued or revoked).	Aid granted shall not exceed the amount which would be necessary to care for the child in an institution.	County or city.	County board of child welfare, seven members, two at least women. City board of child welfare, nine members, three at least women. County board appointed by county judge, city board by mayor. State board of charities.
Resident of county for at least one year previous to the application.	14 years (aid may be modified or discontinued any time).	Not less than $5 nor more than $15 a month for each child.	County general fund.	County judge and appointed agent.
Mother and children shall have been legal residents in any county of the state for two years.	Age at which child is entitled to receive age and schooling certificate.	$15 a month for first child and $7 a month for each additional child.	From an annual county tax not to exceed one-tenth of a mill.	Juvenile court, probation officer or agent of an associated charity or humane society; sheriff under direction of probate court.
Resident of county for at least two years next preceding application.	14 years (aid may be modified or discontinued any time).	$10 a month for the first child and $5 a month for each additional child.	From county general fund but not to exceed $8,000 in any one year.	County court.
Resident of the county one year and of the state 3 years prior to application.	16 years.	$10 month for one child and $7.50 a month for each additional child; but not to exceed $40 a month to any one mother.	County general fund.	Juvenile court or tribunal discharging duties of such court.
Mother shall have been a resident of the county for a continuous period of three years.	16 years (payments to continue at will of trustees, but not beyond the time of legal age for employment).	$12 a month for one child, $20 a month for two, $26 a month for three and $5 a month for each additional child.	County and state.	County board of trustees, five to seven women appointed by the governor. Woman state supervisor appointed by governor and attached to state board of education.
Legal residence in any county.	14 years (aid may be modified or discontinued any time).	$15 a month for first child and $7 a month for each additional child.	From an annual county tax not to exceed one-tenth of a mill.	County court, State's attorney or officer of a charities or humane society.
Resident of the state two years and of the county one year prior to application. Upon removal from county allowance ceases.	16 years (aid may be modified or discontinued any time).	$10 a month for one child and $5 a month for each additional child.	County general fund. Not to exceed in any one year $4,000.	Juvenile court.

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DIGEST OF THE MOTHERS' PENSION

STATE	TO WHOM ALLOWANCE PAID	CONDITIONS ON WHICH ALLOWANCE IS PAID		
		Economic Condition of Parent	Home Condition	Outside Employment
Utah.....	Mothers who are dependent upon their own efforts for the maintenance of their children.	Poor. Aid granted necessary to save children from neglect.	Mother must be a proper person morally, physically and mentally. Children must be living with the mother.	Aid granted to enable mother to remain at home with her children.
Washington....	Mother whose husband is dead or confined in a penal institution or insane hospital or who, through total disability, is unable to support his family.	Destitute, insufficient property or income, lack of earning capacity.	Mother must be a proper person morally, physically and mentally. Children must be living with the mother.	Aid granted to enable mother to maintain home for her children.
Wisconsin.....	Mother who is a widow or whose husband is incapacitated by permanent mental or physical disability or who has been sentenced to a penal institution for one year or more or who has continuously deserted her for one year or more. Aid may be granted to the child, its parents or other person having care of child.	Whose children are dependent upon the public for support.	Mother or grandparents or person having care and custody of child must be of good moral character and a proper person.	No provision.
Wyoming.....	Any woman whose husband is dead or permanently disabled for work by reason of physical or mental infirmity or is a prisoner or who has deserted her for a continuous period of one year.	Woman who is poor.	Mother must be a proper person morally, mentally and physically. Children must be living with the mother. It must appear for the benefit of the child to remain at home with the mother.	Mother may be absent for work for such time as the court deems advisable.

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LAWS IN TWENTY-NINE STATES—Continued

AGE OF CHILD, AMOUNT OF ALLOWANCE, SOURCE OF FUNDS				ADMINISTRATION
Residence	Maximum Age of Child	Maximum Monthly Allowance	Source of Funds	Officers
Resident of county for at least two years next preceding application.	15 years (aid may be modified or discontinued).	$10 a month for first child and $5 a month for each additional child.	County. Amount in counties having a population of 100,000 or more not to exceed $20,000 annually, in all other counties not to exceed $10,000 annually.	County commissioners. Juvenile judge in counties having a population of 125,000 or more.
Resident of the state for three years and of the county one year next preceding application.	15 years (aid may be discontinued or modified any time).	$15 a month for first child and $5 a month for each of the additional children.	County general fund.	Juvenile court in counties having such court. In other counties the superior court. Prosecuting attorney.
Legal resident of the county at the time of the notice for aid.	14 years (no aid shall continue longer than one year without reinvestigation).	$15 a month for first child, $10 a month for each additional child; in no case more than $40 a month to any one family.	County, town, village and city fund. One-third of the amount paid out is credited by the state on taxes due from such county.	Juvenile court or county court. State board of control.
Legal residents in any county of the state for one year.	14 years (period of allowance six months; may be extended from time to time).	$20 a month for first child and $10 a month for each additional child.	County general fund.	District court. Probation officer, agent of charities organization, humane agent or other person.

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DIVISION XIV

TABLE I. INFORMATION FOR SUFFRAGE WORKERS UPON THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

NUMBER OF FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY STATES: 1910

These figures are contained in Tables 6 and 12, pages 37 and 48, Vol. IV, U. S. Census: 1910

	Total Number of Females 10 Years of Age and Over: 1910	Engaged in Gainful Occupations		Number									Per Cent. Distribution							
		Number	Per Cent.	Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry	Extraction of Minerals	Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	Transportation	Trade	Public Service Not Elsewhere Classified	Professional Service	Domestic and Personal Service	Clerical Occupations	Agriculture, Forestry & Animal Husbandry	Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	Transportation	Trade	Public Service Not Elsewhere Classified	Professional Service	Domestic and Personal Service	Clerical Occupations
UNITED STATES	34,552,712	8,075,772	23.4	1,807,501	1,004	1,820,980	106,596	468,088	13,558	733,885	2,530,846	593,224	22.4	22.5	1.3	5.8	0.2	9.1	31.3	7.3
EQUAL SUF. STATES																				
Arizona	62,847	10,589	16.8	816	10	3,238	131	501	48	1,208	4,044	593	7.7	30.6	1.2	4.7	0.5	11.4	38.2	5.6
California	872,209	174,916	20.1	7,323	44	30,096	4,241	17,935	553	28,315	62,090	24,319	4.2	17.2	2.4	10.3	0.3	16.2	35.5	13.9
Colorado	290,162	53,641	18.5	4,150	24	7,386	1,369	4,586	248	8,876	21,165	5,837	7.7	13.8	2.6	8.5	0.5	16.5	39.5	10.9
Idaho	102,235	13,038	12.8	1,639	4	1,493	351	1,014	171	2,479	4,848	1,039	12.6	11.5	2.7	7.8	1.3	19.0	37.2	8.0
Illinois	2,160,504	431,356	20.0	12,294	65	110,034	10,309	43,250	653	50,032	143,315	61,404	2.9	25.5	2.4	10.0	0.2	11.6	33.2	14.2
Kansas	622,378	80,694	13.0	6,854	26	12,643	2,671	7,344	387	16,779	26,522	7,468	8.5	15.7	3.3	9.1	0.5	20.8	32.9	9.3
Montana	113,288	18,851	16.6	1,777	12	1,807	382	1,421	133	3,240	8,445	1,634	9.4	9.6	2.0	7.5	0.7	17.2	44.8	8.7
Nevada	23,414	4,375	18.7	206	7	385	107	267	49	716	2,271	367	4.7	8.8	2.4	6.1	1.1	16.4	51.9	8.4
Oregon	230,914	40,473	17.5	2,642	4	6,726	992	3,970	177	7,106	13,817	5,039	6.5	16.6	2.5	9.8	0.4	17.6	34.1	12.5
Utah	127,769	18,427	14.4	917	5	3,360	494	1,892	150	3,099	6,497	2,013	5.0	18.2	2.7	10.3	0.8	16.8	35.3	10.9
Washington	380,970	66,126	17.4	3,561	9	9,282	1,819	6,060	266	11,431	25,379	8,319	5.4	14.0	2.8	9.2	0.4	17.3	38.4	12.6
Wyoming	40,325	6,013	14.9	580	4	571	107	355	72	1,141	2,783	400	9.6	9.5	1.8	5.9	1.2	19.0	46.3	6.7
MALE SUF. STATES																				
Alabama	768,160	314,330	40.9	222,778	32	13,112	773	3,669	223	8,224	62,643	2,876	70.9	4.2	0.2	1.2	0.1	2.6	19.9	0.9
Arkansas	545,954	161,993	29.7	114,371	3	5,128	785	2,694	217	6,155	30,650	1,990	70.6	3.2	0.5	1.7	0.1	3.8	18.9	1.2
Connecticut	445,079	119,981	27.0	1,812	4	55,357	1,109	6,568	123	10,537	33,542	10,929	1.5	46.1	0.9	5.5	0.1	8.8	28.0	9.1
Delaware	79,293	17,546	22.1	1,088	..	4,385	137	1,345	22	1,534	7,787	1,248	6.2	25.0	0.8	7.7	0.1	8.7	44.4	7.1
Florida	265,613	73,161	27.5	25,723	11	8,460	356	1,939	163	3,956	30,978	1,575	35.2	11.6	0.5	2.7	0.2	5.4	42.3	2.2
Georgia	945,320	352,941	37.3	210,895	3	24,764	1,264	5,348	285	12,249	93,383	4,750	59.8	7.0	0.4	1.5	0.1	3.5	26.5	1.3
Indiana	1,051,638	155,731	14.8	8,845	7	39,087	3,901	12,633	340	19,922	56,097	14,899	5.7	25.1	2.5	8.1	0.2	12.8	36.0	9.6

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NUMBER OF FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY STATES: 1910—Continued

MALE SUFFRAGE STATES—*Continued*	Total Number of Females 10 Years of Age and Over: 1910	Engaged in Gainful Occupations		Number									Per Cent. Distribution						
		Number	Per Cent.	Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry	Extraction of Minerals	Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	Transportation	Trade	Public Service Not Elsewhere Classified	Professional Service	Domestic and Personal Service	Clerical Occupations	Agriculture, Forestry & Animal Husbandry	Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	Transportation	Trade	Public Service Not Elsewhere Classified	Professional Service	Domestic and Personal Service	Clerical Occupations
Iowa	847,558	131,514	15.5	9,557	13	24,466	3,195	10,104	482	28,864	44,031	10,802	7.3	18.6	2.4	7.7	0.4	21.9	33.5	8.2
Kentucky	848,338	147,611	17.4	30,713	9	27,140	1,809	7,505	321	11,532	61,364	7,218	20.8	18.4	1.2	5.1	0.2	7.8	41.6	4.9
Louisiana	601,042	177,609	29.6	86,607	3	12,581	932	5,033	212	7,762	61,250	3,229	48.8	7.1	0.5	2.8	0.1	4.4	34.5	1.8
Maine	296,518	63,282	21.3	2,628	..	22,451	742	3,316	227	8,409	20,863	4,646	4.2	35.5	1.2	5.2	0.4	13.3	33.0	7.3
Maryland	516,529	130,280	25.2	5,414	6	39,093	1,121	9,335	181	9,774	57,974	7,382	4.2	30.0	0.9	7.2	0.1	7.5	44.5	5.7
Massachusetts	1,402,167	444,301	31.7	2,793	2	202,565	5,035	27,480	471	37,269	120,580	48,106	0.6	45.6	1.1	6.2	0.1	8.4	27.1	10.8
Michigan	1,072,417	186,183	17.4	10,469	120	49,011	3,995	15,173	344	25,719	61,958	19,394	5.6	26.3	2.1	8.1	0.2	13.8	33.3	10.4
Minnesota	746,589	145,605	19.5	12,671	6	25,859	2,847	11,263	340	23,179	54,643	14,797	8.7	17.8	2.0	7.7	0.2	15.9	37.5	10.2
Mississippi	641,789	305,366	47.6	241,416	..	6,520	639	2,487	278	7,679	44,811	1,536	79.1	2.1	0.2	0.8	0.1	2.5	14.7	0.5
Missouri	1,259,749	211,564	16.8	16,254	36	46,462	4,690	16,665	442	25,516	80,341	21,158	7.7	22.0	2.2	7.9	0.2	12.1	38.0	10.0
Nebraska	432,326	63,303	14.6	5,522	1	9,626	1,876	5,257	316	13,744	20,880	6,081	8.7	15.2	3.0	8.3	0.5	21.7	33.0	9.6
New Hampshire	175,967	48,340	27.5	1,396	..	24,447	419	1,723	111	4,501	13,199	2,544	2.9	50.6	0.9	3.6	0.2	9.3	27.3	5.3
New Jersey	998,297	239,565	24.0	3,308	9	91,703	2,872	16,426	208	19,921	78,177	27,001	1.4	38.3	1.2	6.9	0.1	8.3	32.6	11.3
New Mexico	109,162	15,079	13.8	3,430	6	3,233	160	540	75	1,810	5,304	521	22.7	21.4	1.1	3.6	0.5	12.0	35.2	3.5
New York	3,683,601	983,686	26.7	13,055	132	348,973	14,603	75,883	934	92,951	322,969	114,186	1.3	35.5	1.5	7.7	0.1	9.4	32.8	11.6
North Carolina	797,161	272,990	34.2	162,905	15	34,958	689	3,236	274	9,608	58,667	2,638	59.7	12.8	0.3	1.2	0.1	3.5	21.5	1.0
North Dakota	184,072	29,046	15.8	4,865	..	2,360	509	1,375	180	5,287	13,071	1,399	16.7	8.1	1.8	4.7	0.6	18.2	45.0	4.8
Ohio	1,878,720	346,712	18.5	12,881	106	102,922	7,609	30,494	533	38,977	116,785	36,405	3.7	29.7	2.2	8.8	0.2	11.2	33.7	10.5
Oklahoma	549,360	78,253	14.2	31,135	11	5,847	1,295	4,353	310	9,700	21,767	3,835	39.8	7.5	1.7	5.6	0.4	12.4	27.8	4.9
Pennsylvania	2,901,033	605,436	20.9	14,080	216	216,077	8,681	49,629	826	55,155	209,953	50,819	2.3	35.7	1.4	8.2	0.1	9.1	34.7	8.4
Rhode Island	220,844	70,939	32.1	495	1	39,574	596	3,808	53	4,786	15,706	5,920	0.7	55.8	0.8	5.4	0.1	6.7	22.1	8.3
South Carolina	546,469	267,833	49.0	191,250	5	20,908	451	2,308	141	6,353	44,694	1,723	71.4	7.8	0.2	0.9	0.1	2.4	16.7	0.6
South Dakota	197,475	28,714	14.5	5,250	22	2,897	516	1,861	187	5,788	10,535	1,658	18.3	10.1	1.8	6.5	0.7	20.2	36.7	5.8
Tennessee	804,005	173,298	21.6	63,930	8	17,504	1,487	4,961	182	10,751	69,218	5,257	36.9	10.1	0.9	2.9	0.1	6.2	39.9	3.0
Texas	1,363,609	328,444	24.1	184,319	21	17,674	3,212	9,977	495	22,102	83,083	7,561	56.1	5.4	1.0	3.0	0.2	6.7	25.3	2.3
Vermont	140,442	28,308	20.2	1,434	..	6,941	436	1,188	100	4,037	12,351	1,821	5.1	24.5	1.5	4.2	0.4	14.3	43.6	6.4
Virginia	765,793	168,700	22.0	36,358	7	25,897	1,063	4,914	296	12,201	82,561	5,403	21.6	15.4	0.6	2.9	0.2	7.2	48.9	3.2
West Virginia	420,601	54,100	12.9	9,113	60	8,464	947	2,953	161	6,473	23,289	2,640	16.8	15.6	1.8	5.5	0.3	12.0	43.0	4.9
Wisconsin	953,909	729,804	76.5	15,938	5	40,465	2,215	12,782	308	22,509	55,984	12,402	9.8	24.9	1.4	7.9	0.2	13.8	34.4	7.6

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TABLE II.—LEGISLATION REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER.

Reprinted in Part from "The Monthly Review" of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics,* July, 1915, and Revised to September, 1916.*

STATE	Hours of Labor in	Per Day	Per Week	Night Work Prohibited from	Employment Prohibited in	Seats to be Furnished in	Minimum Wage Law
Alabama					Mines.	Stores and shops.	
Alaska					Barrooms.		
Arizona	Laundries, bakeries, mercantile establishments, hotels and restaurants.[1]	8	56[2]	7 p.m. to 7 a.m.[3]	Mines, quarries, coal breakers and any occupation requiring constant standing.[4]	Mills, factories, mercantile establishments, bakeries and offices.	
Arkansas	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, express or transportation offices, etc.	9	54	9 p.m. to 7 a.m. (for females under 18).	Mines.	Factories, stores, etc.	Yes.
California	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, offices, etc.[5]	8	48	10 p.m. to 5 a.m.[3]		Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	Yes.
Colorado	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels and restaurants.	8			Coal mines and coke ovens.	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	Yes.
Connecticut	Manufacturing and mechanical establishments.	10	55		Barrooms.	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	
	Mercantile establishments.	10	58				

* Reprinted by permission of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics. The principal information used in revising this chart has been supplied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

[1] Also telegraph and telephone offices in which more than three women are employed.

[2] Forty-eight for females under 18.

[3] For females under 18.

[4] Also certain hazardous manufacturing, etc., employments for females under 18.

[5] Canneries excepted.

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LEGISLATION REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER—Continued.

STATE	Hours of Labor in	Per Day	Per Week	Night Work Prohibited from	Employment Prohibited in	Seats to be Furnished in	Minimum Wage Law
Delaware.....	Mercantile, mechanical and manufacturing establishments, laundries, bakeries and offices.[5]	10[6]	55		Barrooms.[7]	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	
Dist. of Columbia.	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels, restaurants and offices.	8	48		Barrooms.	Stores, shops, offices and factories.	
Florida.....					Barrooms[7] and in cleaning moving machinery.[3]	Mercantile establishments.	
Georgia.....	Cotton and woolen mills.	10	60			Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	
Hawaii.....					Barrooms.[7]		
Idaho.....	Mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels and restaurants.[5]	9					
Illinois.....	Mechanical and mercantile establishments, factories, laundries, hotels, restaurants, offices, etc.	10			Mines.	Factories, mercantile establishments, mills and workshops.	

[3] For females under 18.
[5] Canneries excepted.
[6] If any work is done between 11 p.m. and 7 a.m.
[7] For females under 21.

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LEGISLATION REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER—Continued.

STATE	Hours of Labor in	Per Day	Per Week	Night Work Prohibited from	Employment Prohibited in	Seats to be Furnished in	Minimum Wage Law
Indiana.....			60[8]	10 p.m. to 6 a.m.[8]	Mines, cleaning moving machinery, mendicancy, and as street musicians.[8]	Any business.	
Iowa.....					Cleaning moving machinery.[8]	Mercantile and manufacturing business.	
Kansas.....	Generally to be fixed by Industrial Welfare Commission.					Stores, shops, hotels, restaurants, etc.	Yes.
Kentucky.....	Laundries, bakeries, factories, workshops, stores, mercantile, manufacturing and mechanical establishments, hotels, restaurants and offices.	10	60		Occupations requiring constant standing,[7] and cleaning moving machinery.[8]	All places of employment.	
Louisiana.....	Mills, factories, packing houses, mercantile and manufacturing establishments, workshops, laundries, etc.	10	60[9]	7 p.m. to 6 a.m.[8]	Barrooms and cleaning moving machinery.	All places of employment.	
Maine.....	Manufacturing and mechanical establishments,[5] telephone exchanges with more than three operators, mercantile establishments, restaurants, telegraph offices, express or transportation companies.	9.	54			Stores, shops, hotels, restaurants, etc.	

[8] For females under 18.
[5] Canneries excepted.
[7] For females under 21.
[8] In manufacturing establishments.
[9] May be reduced to not less than 30 if two-thirds of the employees desire.

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LEGISLATION REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER—Continued.

STATE	Hours of Labor in	Per Day	Per Week	Night Work Prohibited from	Employment Prohibited in	Seats to be Furnished in	Minimum Wage Law
Maryland.....	Manufacturing, mechanical, mercantile and printing establishments, bakeries, and laundries.[6]	10[10]	60		Mines, serving drinks in theatres, etc., oiling or cleaning moving machinery. Employment requiring constant standing, certain hazardous manufacturing.[3]	Stores, mercantile and manufacturing establishments in Baltimore.	
Massachusetts.....	Factories, workshops, manufacturing, mercantile and mechanical establishments, offices and garment repairing workshops.	10	54	10 p.m. to 6 a.m.[11]	Barrooms[7] and certain hazardous manufacturing.[3]	Manufacturing, mercantile and mechanical establishments.	Yes.
Michigan.....	Factories, mills, warehouses, workshops, laundries, stores, shops, offices, restaurants.[6]	10	54	6 p.m. to 6 a.m.[8]	Cleaning moving machinery,[7] in manufacture of liquor or any hazardous employment.	Stores, shops, offices and factories.	
Minnesota.....	Mechanical and manufacturing establishments.[6]	9	54		Oiling or cleaning moving machinery, mendicancy, or as street musicians,[8] messenger service.[7]	Mercantile manufacturing and hotel restaurant business.	Yes.
	Mercantile establishments, restaurants, lunch rooms, etc.	10	58				

[3] For females under 18.
[6] Canneries excepted.
[7] For females under 21
[10] Eight if any work is done between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.
[11] From 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. in textile factories; no limitation in mercantile establishments.

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LEGISLATION REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER—Continued.

STATE	Hours of Labor in	Per Day	Per Week	Night Work Prohibited from	Employment Prohibited in	Seats to be Furnished in	Minimum Wage Law
Mississippi.....	Manufacturing and repairing, laundry, millinery, dressmaking and mercantile establishments, offices and other occupations.	10[12]	60[12]	7 p.m. to 6 a.m.[14]			
Missouri.....	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, factories, laundries, bakeries, restaurants, electrical work, etc.[5]	9	54		Mines, barrooms and cleaning moving machinery.	Manufacturing, mechanical, mercantile and other establishments.	
Montana.....	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, offices, laundries, hotels and restaurants.	9				Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels, restaurants and other establishments.	
Nebraska.....	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels, restaurants, offices, etc. (Limited to cities of 5,000 or above.)	9	54	Night work prohibited, public service corporations excepted.		Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels, restaurants, offices, etc.	Yes.
Nevada.....		8[14]	48[14]		Barrooms,[15] mendicancy, or as street musicians.		
New Hampshire...	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, restaurants, etc.	10¼[13]	55[13]	7 p.m. to 6.30 a.m.[14]	Barrooms.	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	

[5] Canneries excepted.
[12] Eight for females under 18.
[13] Eight per day and forty-eight per week if any work is done between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.
[14] For females under 18.
[15] For females under 21.

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LEGISLATION REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER—Continued.

STATE	Hours of Labor in	Per Day	Per Week	Night Work Prohibited from	Employment Prohibited in	Seats to be Furnished in	Minimum Wage Law
New Jersey.....	Manufacturing and mercantile establishments, bakeries, laundries and restaurants.[5]	10	60		Mendicancy, or as street musicians.[14]	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	
New Mexico.....							
New York.....	Factories, mercantile establishments.	9	54	10 p.m. to 6 a.m.[14]	Mines, barrooms, at emery wheels, etc., polishing or buffing in rooms where cores are baked.	Factories, hotels, restaurants and mercantile establishments.	
	Canning and preserving perishable products.	10[16]	60[16]	10 p.m. to 6 a.m.			
North Carolina....			60[17]	9 p.m. to 6 a.m.[18]		Stores, shops, offices and manufacturing establishments.	
North Dakota.....	Mechanical and manufacturing establishments.	10					
Ohio.....	Factories, workshops, offices, millinery, dressmaking and mercantile establishments in any city.[5]	10[12]	54[2]	6 p.m. to 7 a.m.[14]	Operating emery wheels, etc.; barrooms,[18] mines, quarries, coal breakers, and oiling or cleaning moving machinery.[18]	Factories, workshops, offices, restaurants, bakeries, merantile establishments, etc.	
Oklahoma.....	Manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishments, laundries, bakeries, hotels, restaurants, office buildings, telephone exchanges; in cities of 5,000 or above.	9		6 p.m. to 7 a.m.[14]	Mines.	Mercantile establishments, stores, shops, restaurants, hotels, etc.	

[2] Forty-eight for females under 18.
[5] Canneries excepted.
[12] Eight for females under 18.
[14] For females under 18.
[16] From June 15 to October 15, 12 hours per day and 66 per week; from June 25 to August 5, under special rules issuable by Industrial Board.
[17] No more may be required for females under 18.
[18] Also certain hazardous manufacturing, etc., employments for females under 18.
[18] For females under 21.

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LEGISLATION REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER—Continued.

STATE	Hours of Labor in	Per Day	Per Week	Night Work Prohibited from	Employment Prohibited in	Seats to be Furnished in	Minimum Wage Law
Oregon	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels, restaurants and offices.	10	60			Manufacturing, mechanical establishments, laundries, hotels, restaurants, and other establishments.	Yes.
Pennsylvania	Any establishment (canneries excepted).	10	54	10 p.m. to 6 a.m.[19]	Mines, mendicancy, or as street musicians;[14] certain hazardous manufacturing.[14]	Any establishment.	
Porto Rico	All employment except certain clerical work, nursing and domestic work.	8[20]	48	10 p.m. to 6 a.m.		All establishments.	
Rhode Island	Factories, manufacturing, mechanical, business and mercantile establishments.	10	54		Barrooms.	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	
South Carolina	Cotton and woolen mills.	10	60			Mercantile establishments.	
South Dakota	Mercantile establishments.	12	60	10 p.m.		Mercantile, manufacturing, hotel and restaurant business.	
Tennessee	Workshops and factories (except canneries).	10½	58			Factories, mercantile establishments, mills and workshops.	
Texas	Manufacturing and mechanical establishments, hotels, restaurants and offices, cotton, woolen and worsted mills. Theatre, telegraph and telephone offices.	10 9	54		Barrooms.	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, restaurants, hotels, etc.	
Utah	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels, restaurants, offices, etc.[5]	9	54		Mines and Barrooms.	Stores, shops, hotels, restaurants and other places.	Yes.

[5] Canneries excepted.
[14] For females under 18.
[15] For females under 21.
[19] Nine and six for females under 21, except tleephone operators over 18.
[20] Nine on condition of double pay for overtime.

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LEGISLATION REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER—Continued.

STATE	Hours of Labor in	Per Day	Per Week	Night Work Prohibited from	Employment Prohibited in	Seats to be Furnished in	Minimum Wage Law
Vermont.....	Manufacturing and mechanical establishments.	11	58		Barroom and occupations requiring constant standing.	All establishments.	
Virginia.....	Factories, workshops, mercantile establishments, laundries.[5]	10			Coal mines.	Mercantile establishments.	
Washington.....	Mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels and restaurants.[5]	8			Mines, messenger service,[21] and mendicancy, or as street musicians.[14]	All establishments.	Yes.
West Virginia.....					Coal mines, cleaning moving machinery, mendicancy, or as street musicians.[14]	Manufacturing, mechanical, mercantile and other establishments.	
Wisconsin.....	All employment.	10[22]	55[22]		Mines and quarries, any dangerous employment, using emery, etc., wheels in certain establishments, acting as messengers.[14]	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	Yes.
Wyomimg.....	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, printing offices, laundries, bakeries, canneries, hotels, telephone exchanges, etc.	10	56		Coal, iron and other dangerous mines.	Manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments.	

[5] Canneries excepted.
[14] For females under 18.
[21] For females under 18 in cities of the first class.
[22] Eight per day and forty-eight per week if any work is done between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.

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CHIEF PROVISIONS OF MINIMUM WAGE LAWS FOR WOMEN AND MINORS

[Compiled from Table issued by the American Association for Labor Legislation, with the addition of provisions for Arkansas and Kansas not contained in Table.]

ARKANSAS

(C. 191. Laws, 1915. In effect, March 25, 1915.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Female workers.
Penalty for Violation of Provisions: $25.00 to $100.00. Each day of non-compliance to constitute a separate offence.
Administrative Body: Minimum Wage Commission. (Composed of Commissioner of Labor and Statistics and two competent women. Commissioner of Labor and Statistics to be appointed by Governor. One woman to be appointed by Governor and one by Commissioner of Labor and Statistics.)

CALIFORNIA

(C. 324. Laws 1913. In effect, August 10, 1913.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Women and minors, under 18.
Principle of Wage Determination: "Necessary cost of proper living and to maintain the health and welfare."
Penalty for Violation of Provisions: Minimum, $50, imprisonment for 30 days, or both; (and employee may sue for wage balance).
Administrative Body: Industrial Welfare Commission. (Composed of 5 persons, 1 a woman. They are appointed by Governor for a term of 4 years.)
Authority of Commission: (1). To determine minimum wages, maximum hours, and conditions of labor. (2). To enforce wage rulings, upon complaint.

COLORADO

(C. 110. Laws 1913. In effect, August 12, 1913.)

Industries Covered: Mercantile, manufacturing, laundry, hotel, restaurant, telephone or telegraph.
Employees Covered: Women and minors, under 18.
Principle of Wage Determination: "Necessary cost of living, maintain them in health, and supply the necessary comforts of life," and "financial condition of the business."
Penalty for Violation of Provisions: Maximum, $100, imprisonment for 3 months or both; (and employee may sue for wage balance).
Penalty for Discrimination: For each offense $25.
Administrative Body: State Wage Board. (Composed of: 1 labor representative, 1 employer, 1 woman. They are appointed by the Governor for a term of 2 years.)
Authority of Wage Board: To determine minimum wages.

KANSAS

(C. 275. Laws 1915. In effect, May 22, 1915.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Women and minors, under 18.
Principle of Wage Determination: Adequate for maintainance.
Penalty: (1). For violation, $25 to $100 (and employee may sue for wage balance, court costs, attorney's fees). (2). For discrimination, $25 to $100.
Administrative Body: Industrial Welfare Commission. (Composed of the Commissioner of Labor, and 2 others, 1 a woman. The 2 beside the Commissioner of Labor, to be appointed by the Governor for a term of 4 years.)
Authority of Commission: To determine wages, hours and conditions of labor.

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MASSACHUSETTS

(C. 706. Laws 1912. In effect, July 1, 1913; Am'd Cs. 330, 673. Laws 1913. In effect, July 1, 1913.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Women and minors under 18.
Principle of Wage Determination: "Necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health" and "financial condition of the business."
Penalty for Violation: Commission may publish name in newspapers.
Penalty for Discrimination: For each offense, $200 to $1,000.
Administrative Body: Minimum Wage Commission. (Composed of 3 persons, 1 a woman. They are appointed by Governor for a term of 3 years.)
Authority of Commission: To determine minimum wages.

MINNESOTA

(C. 547. Laws 1913. In effect, June 26, 1913.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Women and minors under 21.
Principle of Wage Determination: "Wages sufficient to maintain the worker in health and supply him with the necessary comforts and conditions of reasonable life."
Penalty for Violation or for Discrimination: For each offense $10 to $50, or imprisonment for 10 to 60 days; (and employee may sue for wage balance).
Administrative Body: Minimum Wage Commission. (Composed of Commissioner of Labor, 1 employer of women, 1 woman secretary. They are appointed by the Governor for a term of 2 years.)
Authority to Determine: Minimum Wages.

NEBRASKA

(C. 211. Laws 1913. In effect, July 17, 1913.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Women and minors under 18.
Principle of Wage Determination: "Necessary cost of living and maintain the worker in health and financial condition of the occupation."
Penalty for Violation: Commission must publish names in newspapers. ($100 for newspaper refusing to publish.)
Penalty for Discrimination: For each offense $25.
Administrative Body: Minimum Wage Commission. (Composed of Governor, Deputy Commissioner of Labor, Professor of Political Science in State University, 1 citizen of State (1 a woman). They are appointed by Governor for 2 years.
Authority of Commission: To determine minimum wages.

OREGON

(C. 62. Laws 1913. In effect, June 2, 1913.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Women and minors under 18.
Principle of Wage Determination: "Necessary cost of living and maintaining the workers in health."
Penalty for Violation: $25 to $100, imprisonment 10 days to 3 months, or both; (and employee may sue for wage balance.)
Penalty for Discrimination: $25 to $100.
Administrative Body: Industrial Welfare Commission. (Composed of 1 representative of employing class, 1 of employed class and 1 representative of public.) They are appointed by the Governor for a term of 3 years.
Authority of Commission: To determine minimum wages, maximum hours, and conditions of labor.

UTAH

(C. 63. Laws 1913. In effect, May 13, 1913.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Females.
Principle of Wage Determination: Experienced adults, $1.25 a day, fixed by act.
Penalty for Violation: A misdemeanor.
Administrative Body: Commissioner of Immigration, Labor and Statistics. (Appointed by Governor, with consent of Senate, for 2 years.)

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WASHINGTON
(C. 174. Laws 1913. In effect, June 13, 1913.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Women and minors under 18.
Principle of Wage Determination: "Necessary cost of living and to maintain the workers in health."
Penalty for Violation: $25 to $100; (and employee may sue for wage balance.)
Penalty for Discrimination: For each offense $25 to $100.
Administrative Body: Industrial Welfare Commission. (Composed of Commissioner of Labor and 4 disinterested citizens, appointed by Governor for 4 years.)
Authority: To determine minimum wages and conditions of labor.

WISCONSIN
(C. 712. Laws 1913. In effect, August 1, 1913.)

Industries Covered: All.
Employees Covered: Women and minors.
Principle of Wage Determination: "A wage sufficient to maintain himself or herself under conditions consistent with his or her welfare."
Penalty for Violation: For each offense $10 to $100.
Penalty for Discrimination: For each offense $25.
Administrative Body: Industrial Commission. (Composed of 3 persons. Appointed by Governor, with consent of Senate, for 6 years.)
Authority. To determine minimum wages, maximum hours, and conditions of labor.

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DIVISION XV

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY LAWS

BY MARY SUMNER BOYD

Secretary of the Data Department, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Under the Common Law the husband, in exchange for furnishing the necessaries of life to wife and children, is entitled to the wife's (1) time and labor in the home; (2) earnings; (3) separate property or its income; (4) after death he (by Curtesy) inherits all the wife's property, whereas the wife—continuing the theory of "necessaries"—inherits only one-third to one-half his property (Dower).

In most States statute law has modified the provisions of the Common Law.

The ideal law would seem to be that which, only *if she has nothing else to give*, requires of the wife her full time and services in the home, in return for necessaries for self and children. If she contributes to the income from her separate property or her earnings, she should be responsible to the family for her proportion of the family support. In the latter case her husband should have no more right to her full time and services than she has to his, nor should he have any more right to her separate property than she has to his.

The best form of inheritance law secures to either wife or husband a certain proportion, to the children a certain proportion and leaves the spouse free to dispose of the rest by will.

Some statute laws are almost as bad for the wife as the common laws. A certain number of States whose legislation is descended from French or Spanish settlers have a law providing that—aside from the separate property of each spouse—the family income shall be held to be *Community Property*, in most cases shared equally, but completely under the control of the husband.

NECESSARIES. In no State has the law relieved the husband of the Common Law duty of supplying necessaries. In almost all this responsibility is made more effective by non-support* laws. The following States have no such laws:

Mississippi,
†Kentucky,
†Ohio,
Tennessee,
†Georgia.

(No equal-suffrage States.)

In all equal-suffrage States and in about one-third of the male suffrage States the wife is held responsible in her due proportion, depending on her separate income, earnings or share in community property.

The following four headings show in what States the wife is discriminated against unjustly in comparison with the husband:

1. COMMUNITY PROPERTY (a):

Arizona,
California,
Idaho,
Louisiana,
Nevada,
New Mexico,
Oklahoma,
Texas (b),
Washington (b).

(Five of these are equal-suffrage States which lay in the line of Spanish settlement. Agitation is now being made in each State where Community Property exists. This educational work is especially vigorous in California.)

2. WIFE'S SEPARATE PROPERTY OR EARNINGS:

Arizona—Earnings own if living separate, otherwise Community.
California—Like Arizona.
Colorado—Wife cannot control real estate given by husband.

* Or desertion laws.
† Has a law covering non-support of children, and, in Ohio, of pregnant wife.
(a) South Dakota—Husband and wife "may" hold property in common.
(b) But wife's earnings are her own.

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Delaware—Cannot dispose of her separate property without husband's consent.
Florida—Separate property managed by husband, and wife cannot sue him for rents or profits. Her earnings are hers only if living separate.
Georgia—Earnings belong to wife only if she lives separate. (a)
Indiana—Cannot convey real estate without husband's consent.
Kentucky—Like Indiana.
Louisiana—Like Indiana. Income of wife's dowry belongs to husband for maintenance of family, unless stipulated in marriage contract. Returned on dissolution of marriage.
Maine—If wife's separate property given by husband, must have his consent to convey.
Massachusetts—Work performed for husband is not wife's separate earnings. May not sue husband except for divorce.
Mississippi—May not receive pay (earnings) for work performed for husband.
Montana—Tho' earnings are not liable for husband's debts, they are only wife's separate property if living separate.
Nebraska—Property acquired by gift of husband not separate property.
Nevada—Earnings own only if living separate; otherwise community property.
New Jersey—May not sell or mortgage real estate unless living separate. Earnings for work carried on with husband not her own.
New York—Court decisions in 1914 and 1915 decree that wife's earnings, as well as her savings out of the family income, belong to the husband.
New Mexico—Earnings own only if living separate, otherwise community property.
North Carolina—Cannot convey real estate without husband's consent.
Oklahoma—Earnings own only if living separate, otherwise common.
Oregon—Tho' wife's property is not liable for husband's debts, it is only her own if living separate.
Pennsylvania—Unless living apart a year, husband must join in conveyance of wife's separate property.
South Dakota—Tho' earnings not liable for husband's debts, only her own if living separate.
Tennessee—Husband entitled to rents and profits from wife's land but cannot be sold for his debts or disposed of by him without her consent. (b)
Texas—Husband must consent to transfer of wife's estate. Signatures of both necessary to convey her stocks and bonds. Husband may sue in respect to wife's separate property with or without her. If he fails to do so she may sue alone. (c)
Vermont—Except under certain circumstances, cannot convey real estate without husband's consent.
West Virginia—Unless living apart, cannot convey real estate without husband's consent.
Wisconsin—Earnings from labor for husband not hers.

(Only 6 equal suffrage states in this group of 28 states and in none of these is the discrimination grave.)

3. CURTESY AND DOWER (d):

Alabama (with homestead).
Arkansas.
Connecticut. (e)
Delaware.
Florida (homestead not in addition but as part of dower).
Georgia.
Michigan (with homestead).
New Hampshire (with homestead).
New York. (f)
North Carolina.
Pennsylvania. (g)

(a) House in which husband and wife live is property of husband even if wife pays rent and supports husband.
(b) Where wife supports family husband cannot claim her wages.
(c) May apply to court with his consent and have these incumbrances removed.
(d) In South Carolina and Utah Dower for wife exists but no curtesy for husband. The words "with homestead" refer of course to wife.
(e) If married before 1877, otherwise inheritance of each is equal.
(f) Curtesy can be evaded by deed or will.
(g) Husband has curtesy only if there is a child.

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Rhode Island.
Tennessee (a) (with homestead).
Virginia.
West Virginia.
Wisconsin (with homestead).
(No equal suffrage states.)

4. OTHER BAD INHERITANCE PROVISIONS (b):

California—Husband inherits all community property; wife only half.
New Mexico—Like California.
New Jersey—Husband may will away all his property, leaving widow nothing.
(1 equal suffrage state.)

THE WOMAN EDUCATOR AND THE VOTE

By Mary Sumner Boyd
Secretary of the Data Department, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

(This statement refers to conditions of 1915.)

The 1910 census shows almost four times as many women as men teachers in the United States; the school figures for 1913 show more than four times as many girls as boys actually training in the Normal Schools. . . .

Though some western male suffrage States (the Dakotas, Iowa, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Minnesota) give women a fairly high standing in their public education systems, they have a much higher standing in the systems of most equal suffrage States. In not a few they actually dominate education.

On the side of emoluments, the question is bound up with that of equal pay and with even-handed justice regardless of sex in the allotment of higher paid positions, especially executive and supervisory positions. Average pay of the two sexes tells nothing, as the range of positions filled by women is so much greater.

No male suffrage State has an equal pay statute among its school laws. Of the twelve equal suffrage States, five, Nevada, California, Illinois, Oregon and Utah, have equal pay laws. In Arizona, Kansas and Montana the particular class of position carries its own salary regardless of sex, and appointments are made on the basis of experience and record.*

The four States which remain have no equal pay law. Colorado has, in common with a dozen male suffrage States, a minimum wage law for teachers. But there is little need for special legislation to protect women on this point, for these are four of the States in which women are the most completely in control of the educational system. Where the women hold or have equal share in the higher executive and supervisory educational positions, the tendency is to equality throughout the system. In all four of these States the head of the educational department is a woman and, except in Wyoming, has been a woman ever since the granting of woman suffrage. In these States the following women have served:

All Women State Superintendents in United States

Colorado:

1892–95	Mrs. A. J. Peavy
1895–98	Miss Grace E. Patton.
1898–1905	Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell.
1905–1909	Miss Katherine L. Craig.
1909–10	Mrs. Katherine M. Cook.
1910–12	Mrs. Helen Marsh Wixson.
1912	Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford.

(a) If wife leaves children they get half.
(b) See some states also under Wife's Separate Property and Earnings.
* Some male suffrage states also attempt to follow this rule.

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Idaho:

1897–1904	Miss Permeal French.
1904–05	Miss May L. Scott.
1905–10	S. Belle Chamberlain.
1910–15	Grace N. Shepherd.
1915	Bernice McCoy.

Washington:

1912	Mrs. Josephine Preston.

Wyoming:

1892–97	Miss Estelle Reed.
1911–14	Mrs. Rose A. Bird.
1913–14	Mrs. Rose A. Bird-Maley.
1914	Edith K. O. Clerk.

Only one male suffrage State, North Dakota, has ever elected a woman in this capacity, and here the male voters elected but two women, who served between them only four years (1891–1895).

The voting mothers in the four suffrage States have evidently had something to do with the continuance of women as chief executive educational officers.

Washington, which incidentally stands first in the United States in the excellence of its public education system,* has besides a woman Commissioner of Education two out of its other five chief State educational executives women, and in Colorado Mrs. Bradford's first deputy is a woman.

In Colorado, Wyoming and Idaho women hold the great majority of the county superintendencies.

Since with the exception of California and Illinois, the whole group of equal suffrage States are agricultural, this position of County Superintendent is important. It is a significant fact that one-half the county superintendents in the United States are women and that two-thirds of these women superintendents are to be found in equal suffrage states. The following are the states in which any considerable number of women serve in these positions:

Montana	All women (41)			
Wyoming	18	women	3	men
Idaho	26	"	10	"
Colorado	49	"	16	"
Iowa	55	"	44	"
South Dakota	37	"	25	"
Nebraska	49	"	41	"
Kansas	54	"	50	"
Arizona	7	"	7	"
Washington	16	"	23	"
California	22	"	36	"
North Dakota	17	"	35	"
Minnesota	29	"	56	"

Eight out of the above 13 are equal suffrage States and all of them stand high in the list for number of their women superintendents. Twelve other states—3 of them equal suffrage†—have some women county superintendents, in most cases a mere handful to a host of men.

The only suffrage states whose cities are large are Illinois and California. These have a greater proportion of women city superintendents and district superintendents than other States with large urban populations. Up to last year the women voters fought corrupt politics successfully to keep Ella Flagg Young at the head of the Chicago Public Schools—the biggest educational position in any city in the Union except New York.

Chicago with a third the total number of such positions, has five women in District Superintendencies as against two‡ in New York.

On the side of unpaid honors and control of the educational system the women of the equal suffrage States have not kept up with those in paid positions, but they are in advance of the women of male suffrage States. In a few male suffrage States non-voters are not allowed to serve on state or local boards. In others women are in theory eligible,

* See Russell Sage Foundation Study of Public School Systems.

† Utah alone of equal suffrage states has no women county superintendents.

‡ One of these is Miss Grace Strachan, leader of the local Equal Pay movement.

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but we are all too familiar with local struggles to get even one woman on a board. In most cases where they do serve it is merely a handful "allowed to listen" to a board of men. In New York we have six women on a board of forty six; in Boston one in five, and probably Boston's 20 per cent of women is the largest proportion in the East.

In suffrage States men are still predominant, partly because a board position is mainly a business position and local bankers and business men are eager to compete for offices which involve the handling of money.

Nevertheless there is a leaven of women on most educational boards of the equal suffrage States, and they are there not simply as listeners but in sufficient numbers to make their influence real. In some states the state educational executives see to it that at least one woman serves on each local board.

In Colorado, where the first woman board member was appointed in the year woman suffrage was obtained, the state board has its two ex-officio woman members, and each local board has one or two women in its membership. The state boards of Washington, Idaho and Wyoming have their women ex-officio members and all these States have women on local boards. In Washington some rural boards are made up entirely of women.

California has two out of the five state board members women and one or more women on most local boards. Arizona has a woman member on its State Board of Examiners, and this and all the rest of the suffrage States report women as a matter of course serving, though in minority, on local boards. Some Kansas boards are 50 per cent. women and in Illinois some cities have as many as 3 women on a total board of 7.

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DIVISION XVI

1. PERSONS EXCLUDED FROM SUFFRAGE IN EACH STATE.
2. MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.—CHART.

PERSONS EXCLUDED FROM SUFFRAGE IN EACH STATE

[Reprinted from the "Woman's Journal", Jan. 8, 1916.]

The World Almanac for 1916 has compiled the qualifications for voting—and for not being allowed to vote—in all of the States with the aid of the various State Attorneys-General. This compilation shows that the following classes of adult citizens are denied suffrage in the different States:

Alabama—Men convicted of treason or other felonies, idiots, vagrants, insane, **women.**

Alaska—Aliens and Indians.

Arizona—Idiots, insane, felons, soldiers, sailors, and marines in U. S. service, persons unable to read and write in English.

Arkansas—Idiots, insane, men convicted of felony or failing to pay poll tax, **women.**

California—Idiots, insane, embezzlers of public moneys, those convicted of infamous crime, persons unable to read and write in English.

Colorado—Felons and insane.

Connecticut—Men convicted of heinous crime, **women.** (a)

Delaware—Insane, paupers, felons, men unable to read and write in English, **women.** (a)

Florida—Idiots, duellists, felons, **women.** (d)

Georgia—Felons, idiots, insane, **women.**

Hawaii—Idiots, insane, felons, those unable to speak, read and write the English or Hawaiian language, **women.**

Idaho—Idiots, insane, felons, bigamists.

Illinois—Men convicted of crime, **women.** (b)

Indiana—Men convicted of infamous crime, soldiers, sailors, and marines in U. S. service, **women.** with Pwo.

Iowa—Idiots, insane, felons, **women.** (c)

Kansas—Persons convicted of treason or felony, insane.

Kentucky—Felons, idiots, insane, **women.** (a)

Louisiana—Idiots, insane, felons, men unable to read and write in English, **women.** (c)

Maine—Paupers, insane, men unable to read and write in English, Indians who have not severed tribal relations, **women.**

Maryland—Felons, lunatics, bribers, **women.**

Massachusetts—Paupers, men unable to read and write in English, **women.** (a)

Michigan—Indians with tribal relations, **women.** (a, c)

(a) School suffrage granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions.
(b) Presidential and partial municipal and county suffrage granted to women.
(c) Suffrage on taxation and bonding propositions granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions.
(d) Municipal suffrage in town of Fellsmere.

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Minnesota—Felons, insane, Indians who have not severed tribal relations, **women.** (a)

Mississippi—Insane, idiots, Indians not taxed, felons, bigamists, men unable to read and write in English, **women.** (a)

Missouri—Felons, soldiers, sailors, and marines in U. S. service, **women.**

Montana—Felons, idiots, insane, Indians who have not severed tribal relations, soldiers, sailors, and marines in U. S. service.

Nebraska—Felons, insane, **women.** (a)

Nevada—Idiots, insane, felons.

New Hampshire—Paupers, insane, idiots, felons, **women.** (a)

New Jersey—Idiots, paupers, insane, felons, soldiers, sailors and marines in U. S. service, **women.** (a)

New Mexico—Idiots, insane, felons, Indians who have not severed tribal relations, **women.** (a)

New York—Offenders against elective franchise rights, guilty of bribery, betting on elections, men convicted of a felony and not restored to citizenship by the Executive, convicts in house of refuge or reformatory are not disqualified, **women.** (a, c)

North Carolina—Idiots, lunatics, felons, **women.**

North Dakota—Felons, insane, tribal Indians, **women.** (a)

Ohio—Idiots, insane, felons, soldiers, sailors and marines in U. S. service, **women.** (a)

Oklahoma—Felons, idiots, insane, men unable to read and write in English, Indians who have not severed tribal relations, **women.** (a)

Oregon—Idiots, insane, convicted of felony, U. S. soldiers and sailors.

Pennsylvania—Felons, non-tax-payers, **women.**

Porto Rico—Felons, insane, soldiers, sailors and marines in U. S. service, **women.**

Rhode Island—Paupers, lunatics, felons, **women.***

South Carolina—Felons, insane, paupers, men who have not paid taxes or cannot read and write, **women.**

South Dakota—Insane, felons, U. S. soldiers, seamen and marines, **women.** (a)

Tennessee—Felons, men failing to pay poll tax, **women.**

Texas—Idiots, lunatics, felons, U. S. soldiers, marines and seamen **women.**

Utah—Idiots, insane, felons, soldiers, sailors and marines in U. S. service.

Vermont—Men lacking approbation of local board of civil authority. **women.** (a)

Virginia—Idiots, lunatics, paupers, soldiers, sailors and marines in the U. S. service, men failing to pay poll tax, **women.**

Washington—Idiots, lunatics, felons, Indians who have not severed tribal relations.

West Virginia—Idiots, lunatics, felons, **women.**

Wisconsin—Insane, felons, tribal Indians, **women.** (a)

Wyoming—Idiots, insane, felons, persons unable to read State Constitution.

(a) School suffrage granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions.

(c) Suffrage on taxation and bonding propositions granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions.

* Non-taxpayers are required to register yearly before June 30.

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MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES—GENERAL REQUIREMENTS OF VOTERS

(The following Chart is reprinted from a series of articles on Male Suffrage in the United States by Mary Sumner Boyd, Secretary of the Data Department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.*)

* "Headquarters News Letter," 1916.
† In southern states, the choice is indicated by a star.
‡ In states not indicated, the residence requirement is one year.

Name of State	Education	Property Tax or Poll Tax	Alternatives†	Miscellaneous‡
Alabama.....	**A.*** Able to read and write any article of Constitution in English; and regularly engaged in lawful employment for greater part of preceding year.	Prepayment of poll tax due since 1901. **B.*** Ownership and payment of taxes on 40 acres of land on which he resides; or property assessed at $300.	Permanently registered as voters: **1.** All men who served in any war of U. S. before 1898, in Confed. States or Alabama, or **2.** Descendants of such, or **3.** Persons of good moral character who understand duties of citizens of Republic.	Two years residence in State required.
Arizona.....		Only property tax-payers may vote at school or tax elections.		
Arkansas....		Prepayment of poll tax.		Registration requirement prohibited. Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote.
California....	Read Const. in English and write name. Does not apply to those having vote in 1911.	Property qualification prohibited.		
Colorado.....	Legislature authorized to prescribe tests by law. But 1890 electors cannot be disfranchised.			Vote by mail.
Connecticut..	Read any Article of Conn. Const. in Eng. or any sect. of Statutes.			
Delaware....	Persons 21 years old after 1900 must read Del. Const. in English and write name.	Poll tax on male citizens.		Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote.

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MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES—GENERAL REQUIREMENTS OF VOTERS—*Continued.*

Name of State	Education	Property Tax or Poll Tax	Alternatives†	Miscellaneous‡
Florida.....		Prepayment of Capitation tax.		
Georgia.....		Prepayment of all taxes regularly since 1877. **C.*** Ownership of 40 acres of Georgia land on which he resides; or property of $500.	**C.*** All who served in war of U. S. or Confed. or Ga. **D.*** All descendants of same. **E.*** Persons of good moral character, understanding duties of citizens of Republic.	
Idaho.....		Property qualification prohibited in Const. except for vote on school question or indebtedness.		Six months residence in state required. No polygamist can vote.
Illinois.....				
Indiana.....				Six months residence in state required. Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote.
Iowa.....				Vote by mail.
Kansas.....		Property qualification prohibited.		Six months residence in state required. Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote. Vote by mail.
Kentucky....		Prepayment of poll tax in cities where required.		
Louisiana....	**A.*** Read and write. Must write 75 word application for registration.	**B.** Ownership of and prepayment of taxes on La. property, not less than $300. Exhibit poll tax receipts for 2 years preceding election.	**C.*** Special regulation (1898) gave permanent right to males who could vote in any state in 1867; or son or grandson of same; or foreign born, naturalized in U. S. before Jan. 1, 1898. Restriction of registration to above date removed in 1912.	Two years residence in State required.

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MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES—GENERAL REQUIREMENTS OF VOTERS—*Continued.*

Name of State	Education	Property Tax or Poll Tax	Alternatives†	Miscellaneous‡
Maine.....	Read Const. in English and write name. Does not apply to those sixty years old in 1893.			Three months residence in State required.
Maryland....				
Massachus'ts	Read Const. in English and write name.	Prepayment of poll tax.		
Michigan....				Six months residence in State required. Vote by mail.
Minnesota...		Property qualification prohibited.		Six months residence in State required. Vote by mail.
Mississippi...	Read any Sect. of Miss. Constitution, or understand and give reasonable interpretation (1892).	Payment of all taxes for previous two years by Feb. 1—of year he votes. Prepayment of poll tax.		Two years residence in State required.
Missouri.....				Aliens who have taken out first papers may vote. Vote by mail.
Montana.....		Tax-payers vote on questions of taxation.		Vote by mail.
Nebraska....		Elector voting at school election must own property or have children of school age.		Six months residence in State required. Aliens who have taken out first papers may vote. Vote by mail.
Nevada.....		Prepayment of poll tax.		Six months residence in State required.
No. Carolina.	**A.*** Read and write any sect. of Const. in English.	Prepayment of poll-tax for year previous. Property qualification prohibited.	**B.*** No male who was legal voter in any State in 1867, and no descendant of such, shall be denied right to register as permanent voter (before Dec. 1908) by reason of failure to possess educational qualification.	Two years residence in State required.

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MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES—GENERAL REQUIREMENTS OF VOTERS—*Continued.*

Name of State	Education	Property Tax or Poll Tax	Alternatives†	Miscellaneous‡
N. Hampshire	Read N. H. Const. in Eng. and write. Does not apply to those voting in 1912 or those 60 years in 1904.	Prepayment of all taxes including poll, assessed for year prior to election.		
North Dakota	(Legislature authorized to establish educational test.)			Vote by mail.
New Jersey.				
New Mexico.	(Negative: The right of any citizen to vote shall not be restricted, abridged, or impaired, on account of religion, race, language or color, or inability to speak, read or write the Eng. or Spanish language.)			
New York....		For school vote must have children of school age, or taxable real estate or personal property of $50.		
Ohio.....				
Oklahoma...	**A.*** Read and write any sect. of Okla. Const.	Poll tax required of voters only.	**B.*** No person voting in 1866, in any State or then residing in foreign nation, nor descendant of such, shall be denied right to vote because unable to read and write Const. (Held unconstitutional by U. S. Court in case discriminating against negro.)	
Oregon.....		To vote in school election must have property in district or children of school age.		Six months residence in State required.

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MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES—GENERAL REQUIREMENTS OF VOTERS—*Continued.*

Name of State	Education	Property Tax or Poll Tax	Alternatives†	Miscellaneous‡
Pennsylvania		If 22 or over male citizen must have paid State or County Tax.		Six months residence in State required—for qualified elector who moved and returns.
Rhode Island		To vote on City Council or any measure imposing tax, must have paid tax on $134. A poll tax (school fund) assessed on electors only.		Two years residence in State required.
So. Carolina..	**A.*** Read and write any sect. of S. C. Const. (1895-1898—to secure life registration: read or understand and explain when read.)	Prepayment of poll tax six months before election. Proof of payment of all taxes assessed. **B.*** Proof of ownership and taxation on $300 of property in S. C.		Two years residence in State required.
South Dakota				Six months residence in State required. Alien who has taken out first papers can vote.
Tennessee...		Proof of payment of full taxes assessed. Male citizens pay poll-tax.		
Texas.....		Prepayment of poll tax. Only taxpayers vote on expenditure of money.		Aliens who have taken out first papers can vote.
Utah.....		Poll tax on male citizens. Payment of property tax required in order to vote on measures creating indebtedness. Otherwise property qualification forbidden.		

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MALE SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES—GENERAL REQUIREMENTS OF VOTERS—*Continued.*

Name of State	Education	Property Tax or Poll Tax	Alternatives†	Miscellaneous‡
Vermont.....				Vote by mail.
Virginia.....	**A.*** Registration 1902–1903: Read any sec. of Va. Const. or understand when read. **A.*** Since 1904 application in own handwriting, giving history for two years previous and previous vote.	Prepayment of poll tax. (Not required of veterans.) **B.*** Registration 1902–1903. Ownership of Virginia property on which $1 tax. **B.*** Since 1904. Payment all taxes assessed for last three years.	**C.** Registration 1902–1903: Any one serving in War of U. S.—Confed.—or any state before 1902. **D.** Registration 1902–1903: A son or grandson of such (C.)	Two years residence in State required. Vote by mail.
Washington..	Read and speak Eng. language.			
West Virginia				Registration requirement forbidden.
Wisconsin...				Vote by mail.
Wyoming....	Read Wyoming Constitution.			Vote by mail.

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DIVISION XVII

I—INFORMATION FOR SUFFRAGE WORKERS UPON THE CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION IN EACH STATE

WOMEN OF VOTING AGE IN EACH STATE—1910

[Reprinted from Table 42, Abstract of the U. S. Census—1910]

	Total Women 21 Years of Age and Over	White		Native White				Foreign-born White		Negro		Indian	Chinese, Japanese and all Other
				Native Parentage		Foreign or Mixed Parentage							
		Number	Per Cent. of Total	Number	Per Cent. of Total	Number	Per Cent. of Total	Number	Per Cent. of Total	Number	Per Cent. of Total		
UNITED STATES	24,555,754	22,059,236	89.8	12,484,481	50.8	4,567,647	18.6	5,007,108	20.4	2,427,742	9.9	60,169	8,607
EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES													
Arizona	43,891	36,885	84.0	17,337	39.5	7,475	17.0	12,073	27.5	635	1.4	6,329	42
California	671,386	654,305	97.5	308,000	45.9	174,435	26.0	171,870	25.6	6,936	1.0	4,209	5,936
Colorado	213,425	209,195	98.0	122,780	57.5	43,605	20.4	42,810	20.1	3,861	1.8	284	85
Idaho	69,818	68,543	98.2	40,258	57.7	17,043	24.4	11,242	16.1	187	0.3	1,031	57
Illinois	1,567,491	1,533,014	97.8	647,697	41.3	421,178	26.9	464,139	26.6	34,372	2.2	56	49
Kansas	438,934	423,270	96.4	298,578	68.0	75,572	17.2	49,120	11.2	15,289	3.5	373	2
Montana	81,741	78,331	95.8	34,086	41.7	20,289	24.8	23,956	29.3	553	0.7	2,811	46
Nevada	18,140	16,366	90.2	7,317	40.3	5,189	28.6	3,860	21.3	202	1.1	1,511	61
Oregon	168,323	166,191	98.7	104,149	61.9	32,273	19.2	29,769	17.7	443	0.3	1,323	366
Utah	85,729	84,588	98.7	26,838	31.3	32,901	38.4	24,849	29.0	313	0.4	747	81
Washington	277,727	271,828	97.9	141,260	50.9	59,732	21.5	70,836	25.5	1,697	0.6	2,904	1,298
Wyoming	28,840	27,932	96.9	15,648	54.3	6,209	21.5	6,075	21.1	494	1.7	376	38
MALE SUFFRAGE STATES													
Alabama	501,959	284,116	56.6	269,397	53.7	8,602	1.7	6,117	1.2	217,676	43.4	167	...
Arkansas	351,994	248,964	70.7	234,232	66.5	9,140	2.6	5,592	1.6	102,917	29.2	112	1
Connecticut	335,131	329,926	98.4	125,272	37.4	77,002	23.0	127,652	38.1	5,142	1.5	50	13
Delaware	58,442	50,160	85.8	37,070	63.4	6,573	11.2	6,517	11.2	8,281	14.2	1	...
Florida	178,685	105,662	49.1	87,708	49.1	7,610	4.3	10,344	5.8	72,998	40.9	16	9
Georgia	613,149	343,187	56.0	330,779	53.9	7,579	1.2	4,829	0.8	269,937	44.0	20	5
Indiana	770,658	752,208	97.6	577,899	75.0	117,643	15.3	56,666	7.4	18,386	2.4	61	3
Iowa	603,644	599,442	99.3	315,389	52.2	175,267	29.0	108,786	18.0	4,124	0.7	73	5

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WOMEN OF VOTING AGE IN EACH STATE—1910.—(*Continued*)

	Total Women 21 Years of Age and Over	White		Native White				Foreign-born White		Negro		Indian	Chinese, Japanese and all Other
				Native Parentage		Foreign or Mixed Parentage							
		Number	Per Cent. of Total	Number	Per Cent. of Total	Number	Per Cent. of Total	Number	Per Cent. of Total	Number	Per Cent. of Total		
MALE SUFFRAGE STATES—*Con.*													
Kentucky	579,756	506,299	87.3	441,093	76.1	47,716	8.2	17,490	3.0	73,413	12.7	43	1
Louisiana	395,354	222,473	56.3	166,066	42.0	37,276	9.4	19,131	4.8	172,711	43.7	149	21
Maine	225,736	225,107	99.7	156,663	69.4	25,589	11.3	42,855	19.0	401	0.2	228	...
Maryland	373,819	309,897	82.9	209,793	56.1	56,820	15.2	43,284	11.6	63,899	17.1	12	11
Massachusetts	1,074,485	1,061,602	98.8	363,035	33.8	246,539	22.9	452,028	42.1	12,648	1.2	192	43
Michigan	786,033	778,874	99.1	319,537	40.7	224,713	28.6	234,624	29.8	5,318	0.7	1,833	8
Minnesota	512,411	508,195	99.2	111,088	21.7	192,518	37.6	204,589	39.9	2,061	0.4	2,146	9
Mississippi	412,941	180,787	43.8	171,849	41.6	6,073	1.5	2,865	0.7	231,901	56.2	244	9
Missouri	896,152	847,997	94.6	588,496	65.7	171,954	19.2	87,547	9.8	48,057	5.4	81	17
Nebraska	298,040	294,849	98.9	146,645	49.2	79,569	26.7	68,635	23.0	2,369	0.8	806	16
New Hampshire	135,372	135,187	99.9	78,394	57.9	19,004	14.0	37,789	27.9	176	0.1	9	...
New Jersey	736,659	706,728	95.9	288,821	39.2	166,074	22.5	251,833	34.2	29,866	4.1	26	39
New York	2,757,521	2,706,523	98.2	927,995	33.7	710,145	25.8	1,068,383	38.7	49,300	1.8	1,502	196
North Carolina	519,475	358,583	69.0	354,416	68.2	2,316	0.4	1,851	0.4	159,236	30.7	1,655	1
North Dakota	122,406	120,780	98.7	29,600	24.2	37,987	31.0	53,193	43.5	158	0.1	1,468	...
New Mexico	73,152	68,276	93.3	56,719	77.5	5,494	7.5	6,063	8.3	441	0.6	4,424	11
Ohio	1,398,341	1,364,611	97.6	830,354	59.4	314,929	22.5	219,328	15.7	33,683	2.4	33	14
Oklahoma	356,194	311,266	87.4	276,301	77.6	22,208	6.2	12,757	3.6	30,208	8.5	14,718	2
Pennsylvania	2,114,008	2,050,872	97.0	1,160,416	54.9	398,069	18.8	492,387	23.3	62,949	3.0	162	25
Rhode Island	166,391	163,120	98.0	49,955	30.0	40,305	24.2	72,860	43.8	3,178	1.9	86	7
South Carolina	343,958	162,625	47.3	156,965	45.6	3,577	1.0	2,083	0.6	181,264	52.7	65	4
South Dakota	134,187	128,772	96.0	48,349	36.0	43,530	32.4	36,893	27.5	220	0.2	5,188	7
Tennessee	542,408	419,646	77.4	400,706	73.9	12,485	2.3	6,455	1.2	122,707	22.6	54	1
Texas	884,218	722,063	81.7	568,533	64.3	73,423	8.3	80,107	9.1	161,959	18.3	153	43
Virginia	518,473	353,516	68.2	335,607	64.7	9,533	1.8	8,376	1.6	164,844	31.8	110	3
West Virginia	284,969	270,298	94.9	241,703	84.8	15,872	5.6	12,723	4.5	14,667	5.1	3	1
Vermont	106,883	106,598	99.7	67,945	63.6	20,234	18.9	18,419	17.2	277	0.3	8	...
Wisconsin	611,157	607,917	99.5	140,549	23.0	262,260	42.9	205,108	33.6	939	0.2	2,295	6

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II.—MALES OF VOTING AGE: 1910

[Reprinted from Statistical Abstract of the United States 1915, p. 34*]

State	Native White	Foreign-born White	Colored [1]
Alabama	288,422	10,521	214,168
Arizona	39,415	25,682	8,954
Arkansas	274,583	9,718	111,523
California	548,842	297,365	74,190
Colorado	194,089	70,514	7,045
Connecticut	189,224	153,168	5,300
Delaware	44,028	8,776	9,083
District of Columbia	64,027	11,738	27,996
Florida	106,866	17,445	89,884
Georgia	345,056	8,513	267,047
Idaho	81,625	25,844	3,394
Illinois	1,096,518	604,524	42,140
Indiana	712,504	88,927	21,003
Iowa	511,034	146,880	5,758
Kansas	415,977	74,248	18,304
Kentucky	507,221	20,440	75,793
Louisiana	213,482	26,519	174,918
Maine	186,391	48,464	872
Maryland	255,588	47,973	64,347
Massachusetts	552,830	453,601	15,238
Michigan	560,045	302,177	8,654
Minnesota	338,621	298,282	5,766
Mississippi	187,506	5,235	234,212
Missouri	798,076	121,404	53,582
Montana	89,420	59,313	6,284
Nebraska	254,570	94,345	4,711
Nevada	23,865	12,767	3,394
New Hampshire	94,437	41,956	215
New Jersey	435,195	309,648	29,859
New Mexico	76,231	12,502	5,904
New York	1,562,358	1,221,013	53,402
North Carolina	354,315	3,296	148,523
North Dakota	92,220	79,721	1,949
Ohio	1,135,999	308,478	39,788
Oklahoma	371,826	23,551	51,889
Oregon	181,434	63,909	11,845
Pennsylvania	1,500,987	741,610	66,429
Rhode Island	84,513	75,899	3,422
South Carolina	162,414	3,355	169,277
South Dakota	118,194	54,528	5,467
Tennessee	423,319	10,112	119,237
Texas	723,810	112,152	167,395
Utah	67,784	32,652	3,679
Vermont	88,754	23,759	993
Virginia	348,777	14,882	159,873
Washington	275,455	147,224	18,615
West Virginia	280,811	34,687	22,851
Wisconsin	410,604	269,237	3,902
Wyoming	41,435	18,263	3,503
Total	17,710,697	6,646,817	2,641,637

* Government Printing Office: Washington.

[1] Persons of Negro descent, Chinese, Japanese and Indians.

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III.—THE WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION COMPARED IN CERTAIN STATES

(These figures have been taken from page 100, Abstract of the Census: 1910.)

States	White Males	Negro Males	White Females	Negro Females
Alabama	625,891	447,794	602,941	460,488
Arkansas	586,420	223,323	544,606	219,568
Delaware	87,387	16,011	83,715	15,170
Florida	232,545	161,362	211,089	147,307
Georgia	724,488	580,263	707,314	596,724
Kentucky	1,030,033	131,492	997,918	130,164
Louisiana	480,460	353,824	460,626	360,050
Maryland	529,072	114,749	533,567	117,501
Missouri	1,606,556	80,489	1,528,376	76,963
Mississippi	402,056	502,796	384,055	506,691
North Carolina	754,852	339,581	745,659	358,262
Oklahoma	771,770	71,937	672,761	65,675
South Carolina	343,544	408,078	335,617	427,765
Tennessee	869,622	233,710	841,810	239,378
Texas	1,671,437	344,941	1,533,411	345,108
Virginia	704,363	330,542	685,446	340,554
West Virginia	607,326	36,607	549,491	27,566

IV.—THE NUMBER OF ILLITERATE MALES OF VOTING AGE

[Reprinted from "Statistical Abstract of the United States," 1915,* Pages 58–59.]

States	Illiterate Males of Voting Age	Percentage of Illiterates Among Males of Voting Age	States	Illiterate Males of Voting Age	Percentage of Illiterates Among Males of Voting Age
Alabama	124,494	24.3	Nevada	2,399	6.0
Arizona	14,463	19.5	New Hampshire	8,413	6.2
Arkansas	53,440	13.5	New Jersey	51,086	6.6
California	42,787	4.6	New Mexico	16,634	17.6
Colorado	11,343	4.2	New York	170,030	6.0
Connecticut	23,562	6.8	North Carolina	107,563	21.3
Delaware	6,272	10.1	North Dakota	5,467	3.1
Dist. of Columbia	5,082	4.9	Ohio	62,998	4.2
Florida	29,886	14.0	Oklahoma	28,707	6.4
Georgia	141,541	22.8	Oregon	6,460	2.5
Idaho	3,416	3.1	Pennsylvania	179,982	7.8
Illinois	79,433	4.6	Rhode Island	14,456	8.8
Indiana	33,583	4.1	South Carolina	90,707	27.1
Iowa	14,204	2.1	South Dakota	5,550	3.1
Kansas	14,716	2.9	Tennessee	86,677	15.7
Kentucky	87,516	14.5	Texas	109,328	10.9
Louisiana	118,716	28.6	Utah	3,477	3.3
Maine	13,070	5.5	Vermont	6,039	5.3
Maryland	31,238	8.5	Virginia	92,917	17.7
Massachusetts	61,909	6.1	Washington	10,580	2.4
Michigan	38,703	4.4	West Virginia	35,040	10.4
Minnesota	23,603	3.7	Wisconsin	27,038	4.0
Mississippi	107,843	25.3	Wyoming	2,594	4.1
Missouri	51,284	5.3			
Montana	8,812	5.7	Total	2,273,603	8.4
Nebraska	8,545	2.4			

*Government Printing Office.

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V.—SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF POPULATION 5 TO 20 YEARS OF AGE, BY STATES: 1910*

	Boys 5 to 20 Years of Age			Girls 5 to 20 Years of Age		
	Total Number	Attending School		Total Number	Attending School	
		Number	Per Cent.		Number	Per Cent.
UNITED STATES...	14,952,530	8,833,533	59.1	14,833,467	8,813,344	59.4
Equal Suffrage States.						
Arizona	31,952	15,680	49.1	29,682	15,081	50.8
California	304,191	182,966	60.1	287,916	183,812	63.8
Colorado	117,230	74,794	63.8	114,159	74,985	65.7
Idaho	54,139	34,433	63.6	50,330	32,858	65.3
Illinois	865,790	523,949	60.5	864,139	517,278	59.9
Kansas	280,413	185,825	66.3	271,554	183,754	67.7
Montana	52,446	30,695	58.5	48,526	30,773	63.4
Nevada	9,219	5,180	56.2	8,107	5,128	63.3
Oregon	96,436	59,731	61.9	90,607	58,274	64.3
Utah	66,171	43,295	65.4	64,638	42,307	65.5
Washington	161,937	98,729	61.0	152,276	98,052	64.4
Wyoming	20,694	11,691	56.5	17,899	11,579	64.7
Male Suffrage States.						
Alabama	403,716	193,198	47.9	407,591	196,771	48.3
Arkansas	297,708	163,625	55.0	298,222	164,286	55.1
Conn	159,311	100,892	63.3	160,378	101,611	63.4
Delaware	31,550	18,326	58.1	30,398	17,377	57.2
Florida	130,986	63,838	48.7	131,797	66,895	50.8
Georgia	493,638	236,543	47.9	505,077	250,865	49.7
Indiana	420,770	261,319	62.1	411,490	256,993	62.5
Iowa	364,908	244,790	67.1	356,484	242,663	68.1
Kentucky	409,029	234,427	57.3	403,163	231,278	57.4
Louisiana	307,779	123,345	40.1	314,267	129,419	41.2
Maine	105,123	68,656	65.3	103,940	69,015	66.4
Maryland	206,695	115,377	55.8	209,210	114,746	54.8
Mass	467,504	305,291	65.3	473,872	308,814	65.2
Michigan	432,406	280,362	64.8	422,304	277,764	65.8
Minnesota	351,020	227,696	64.9	342,768	224,381	65.5
Mississippi	347,114	198,129	57.1	350,445	203,806	58.2
Missouri	532,228	328,027	61.6	531,390	325,482	61.3
Nebraska	203,008	135,976	67.0	197,444	133,617	67.7
New Hampshire	59,957	37,832	63.1	58,994	38,226	64.8
New Jersey	376,862	230,231	61.1	382,002	228,916	59.9
N. Mexico	57,929	33,966	58.6	56,298	31,842	56.6
New York	1,293,961	803,707	62.1	1,326,432	807,789	60.9
N. Carolina	424,021	243,107	57.3	423,865	243,421	57.4
N. Dakota	101,940	60,657	59.5	96,421	58,349	60.5
Ohio	707,172	444,681	62.9	697,868	436,457	62.5
Oklahoma	311,458	198,438	63.7	300,333	189,881	63.2
Pennsylvania	1,186,933	696,282	58.7	1,170,874	689,722	58.9
Rhode Island	79,609	47,653	59.9	78,678	46,021	58.5
S. Carolina	301,500	143,588	47.6	306,437	151,700	49.5
S. Dakota	101,756	63,313	62.2	96,267	60,904	63.3
Tennessee	400,602	222,471	55.5	394,520	220,940	56.0
Texas	730,146	397,909	54.5	604,333	258,599	42.8
Virginia	374,658	200,806	53.6	351,836	154,003	43.8
West Virginia	208,792	129,386	62.0	174,622	90,588	51.9
Vermont	49,742	34,648	69.7	48,368	29,326	60.6
Wisconsin	387,464	250,008	64.5	363,812	208,595	57.3

* These figures are contained in Table 32, page 1147, Vol. I, U. S. Census 1910.

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DIVISION XVIII

INFORMATION FOR SUFFRAGE WORKERS—HOW TO ORGANIZE

[Reprinted from *Headquarters News Letter*, Organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.]

1. HOW TO ORGANIZE A STATE

The Political Unit. The first step is to determine what political unit shall be chosen. The three main divisions of interest to suffragists are the Congressional Districts, the Senatorial and the Assembly Districts. Unfortunately, the boundaries of these three classes of districts are often in conflict which renders organization by the Congressional District alone ineffective.

Action in Congress depends upon sentiment in the state and sentiment in the state depends upon organization in the constituency of legislators.

We advise that the county in most states shall be used as the unit of organization. In most states a county sends one or perhaps more members to the lower house of the legislature or a county is sub-divided, each subdivision being called an assembly or legislative district, and each such district sends one or more members to the lower house. These Assembly districts usually compose the senatorial districts so that organized assembly districts mean organized senatorial districts, and thus an efficient machinery is provided with which to secure successful legislative action.

Some states are fortunate enough to have the boundaries of congressional districts include, without division, a certain number of assembly districts. Where this is true the congressional chairman may well be in charge of the campaign in all the counties within her congressional district. Where it is not true a slightly different arrangement seems necessary which is discussed later.

How to Organize a County Containing a Large City. The next step is to organize the counties of largest population. In most cities the ward forms a natural sub-unit. The president of the largest league in the city should invite to a common meeting all the boards of all leagues in the city regardless of their auxiliaryship to state organizations. At that meeting a plan of unification of work within the city should be proposed, and if adopted the necessary work involved to carry out the proposal should be turned over to an organization committee appointed for the purpose, care being taken to represent all the elements within the city. Each league should turn over to the organization committee the complete list of its respective membership. The organization committee should first classify these lists by city wards. This work will doubtless reveal the fact that some wards possess a large number of organized suffragists and other wards none at all. The ward containing the largest number of known suffragists should be organized first. All the names classified in that ward should be called to a meeting within the ward. These persons, although members of leagues, should be asked to sign a printed slip indicating membership in the city political organization. (See *, p. 183.) It will naturally come about

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that some dues-paying members of leagues will not attend this meeting, and these members should be interviewed in person or by letter and asked to sign the slip of membership of the ward organization.

Each member should then be asked to solicit similar membership from friends within the ward so as to swell the membership as rapidly as possible. A temporary chairman for the ward whose business it will be to carry out the details of organization may be appointed by the Organization Committee for the city. A date may be set for the election of officers and the adoption of rules at such time as the organization committee thinks is best suited to successful organization.

The permanent organization should not be pushed until a sufficient number of suffragists have become zealous enough to carry on the ward organization effectively. On the other hand the work should not be considered completed until the temporary organization has been transformed into a permanent one with the election of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer.

The rules for the ward should be the simplest possible. Red-tape is a nuisance. On the other hand it is necessary to determine who the voters at elections shall be, how the election shall be conducted and how the delegates are to be selected to this convention. These rules should be adopted to govern the ward organizations until the city committee has been elected and the city organization has adopted uniform rules for all the wards.

As soon as the temporary organization is effected work within the ward should begin. Small neighborhood meetings where intimate discussion may be had with the women citizens of the ward with a view to interesting them in the cause and to secure their membership in the ward organization should be pushed vigorously. From time to time large public meetings should be held. The workers in the ward should make house-to-house canvasses in behalf of these meetings, giving printed announcements to every house and urging the people to come to the ward meeting. At that meeting propaganda speeches should be made and in addition a complete explanation of the ward organization and an appeal made for members. In this form of organization every man and woman adult should be made eligible to membership and no dues required.

Each ward in the city should be treated in the same manner. Where there are no suffragists or none who can become sponsors for the ward movement a campaign should be instituted. The most effective means is to open a temporary headquarters in the ward with appropriate decorations in the window and a change of slogans each day.

If the local suffragists are able to secure an empty store, daily meetings may be held there for propaganda purposes accompanied by house-to-house visitations to present the invitations to the citizens to come. At such meetings secure as many enrollments as possible and continue working the ward until there is a good showing of membership and an interest in the cause. Do not despair if at first no one cares to listen. Continual, determined application will secure a change of sentiment. It must never be forgotten that our cause is based upon infinite justice and that at bottom the average man and woman comprehends that fact.

When a majority of the wards are organized a city convention may be held, attended by delegates from the wards, at which time a simple constitution may be adopted and city officers elected. If the city covers most of a county the elected officers should be county officers and the convention should be a county and not a city convention, but in that event the outly-

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ing townships should be included in the organization and should be organized according to the directions for rural work.

The county committee will then consist of the elected officers plus the ward and township chairmen plus the chairmen of any standing committees which it may be thought feasible to establish. This Committee should meet at least monthly in executive session for the purpose of hearing reports of work done and planning work for the future. Reports of officers and chairmen of committees should always be presented in writing.

Every member of every league should be a member of this political organization. Small unimportant leagues will eventually find it advisable to go out of existence and to merge their activities into that of the political organization. Large leagues may find an especial function to perform in propaganda meetings, money-raising to support the political organization, etc., but these leagues should not undertake any activity which is not in harmony with the policies of the political district organization, and all plans should be subject to the approval of the political organization.

The executive committee of the organization of any political district, whether the district be state, county, assembly district, city, town or township, should consist of the elected officers of the organization plus the chairmen of standing committees, plus the chairmen of the organizations in the political district next in rank.

The political organization is not complete until it has been carried far enough to cover the organization of all the voting precincts within the ward.

*The following membership slip is recommended.
Woman Suffrage Party of (Name of State).
(Name of County) County Committee.
Headquarters (give address).
I (name of signer).
(Address).
believing that women should vote on equal terms with men, hereby join the Woman Suffrage Party, with the understanding that the organization is non-dues paying and non-partisan, and that this membership does not conflict with my regular political affiliation.
Legislative (or Assembly) District.....Ward.....
Precinct.....
Date.....

2. HOW TO ORGANIZE A RURAL COUNTY

The difference between a rural county and an urban county is that the former is more sparsely settled, the population is less accessible to workers, ready-made meetings are fewer in number and publicity is not so easily secured. A compact, highly developed, political district organization is therefore even more necessary in a rural county, for the work cannot depend upon mass meetings and publicity attendant upon the activities of central committees, but must be promoted by the individual workers.

The first step is to secure a county committee which should represent the different districts in the county and which may be elected by the various local organizations, if such have been already established, or which may be appointed by the State committee, if no organizations have previously

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been formed in the county. In the latter event the appointed committee should definitely plan to call a meeting for the purpose of electing a county committee as soon as the work is sufficiently advanced.

The work of the county committee is twofold. First the formation of its organization, which is its working machinery. Second the propagandistic and political work which is to be carried out through this machinery.

Machinery of Organization.—The county may consist of one or more assembly or legislative districts, as in New York or Pennsylvania; it may consist of incorporated towns as in New Hampshire; or it may have other political divisions, such as boroughs, townships and magisterial districts. In any case the county and each unit of organization within the county, whether the unit be legislative district, town or township, should have an executive committee in charge of its work. The executive committee should consist of the elected officers, chairmen of standing committees and chairmen of the organizations of the political districts next in rank.

For example, the county committee in a county which contains two or more legislative districts would consist of the chairmen, vice-chairman or chairmen, secretary, treasurer, chairmen of standing committees and the chairmen of the legislative districts. In a county which is not subdivided into legislative districts but is composed of incorporated towns and of townships, the county committee would consist of the elected officers, chairmen of standing committees and the leaders of the towns and townships within the county.

The executive committee of each legislative or assembly district would consist of the elected officers of the district, the chairmen of standing committees and the leaders of the town and township organization within the district. The executive committee of each town and township organization in turn would consist of the elected officers, the chairmen of standing committees and the leaders (or captains) of the precincts.

The machinery of the political district organization then beginning with the smallest unit consists of:—

1. Precinct Leaders (or captains).
2. Town and Township Committees.
3. Legislative or Assembly District Committees.
4. County Committee.

The standing committees above mentioned in each unit of organization should be at least five, but may be increased as the work demands. The five essential committees are: Propaganda, Press and Publicity; Literature; Finance; Enrollment.

In this scheme of organization the county chairman directs the organization work, but sometimes it is advisable to establish a standing committee on organization.

The political work of the organization should always be under the direction of the county committee and special committees should be appointed to carry out such work. It is to be remembered that this is the perfected plan and workers should not be discouraged if the development of it is gradual.

How to Proceed.—Having determined the machinery which is ultimately to be established, the first consideration is how to secure that machinery. The very first thing which a county committee or chairman should do is to make a thorough study of the county. The county seat is the logical place in which to begin work and in which to establish the first organization. It is usually the town of greatest influence, more accessible

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to all parts of the county, has the most widely read newspapers and is the centre of political activity.

The committee should secure first of all complete information on the following subjects:—

The leading men and women and their attitude toward suffrage.

The leading politicians.

The relative strength of political parties.

Newspapers; owners; editorial policy in general and toward suffrage.

Leading churches and attitude of clergymen.

Chief industries; owners; number of employees.

Granges and other organizations. Secure list of officers.

Regular county events, such as grange picnics, county fairs, harvest homes, labor picnics, etc. Secure list of dates.

Labor organizations. If any, secure list of officers.

With this information in hand the committee will have an invaluable understanding of community conditions.

Whether the work is being promoted by an appointed chairman or by a committee, the next step is to bring suffrage to the attention of the people in the community by personal calls, by speaking before women's clubs and other organizations, and through the newspapers. A suffrage meeting should then be called, at which time the town committee as above outlined should be elected. This procedure should be followed throughout the county in every town and township.

Activities.—The activities of the organization are political and educational. The political activity is special, must be carried on under the direction of the county committee in line with state policies, and is effective in proportion to the strength of the organization. The educational activities are conducted by the various committees, and can best be explained by describing the duties of the committees.

(1) Duties of Committees—Propaganda Committee.

The Propaganda Committee should be alive to all opportunities for promoting suffrage sentiment. To this end it should be on the lookout constantly for ready-made audiences and arrange for suffrage speakers to address Women's Clubs, Granges, Picnics and County Fairs, Teachers' and Farmers' Institutes, Labor Unions, Political Rallies, Moving Picture Show Audiences, etc. This committee should also co-operate with the respective Election Division Leaders in arranging parlor meetings in their election divisions, and should arrange at least one public suffrage meeting during the winter months. A list of school houses and churches should be made and the respective authorities canvassed for permission to hold suffrage meetings. The school house is in many rural counties the best public meeting place and is usually most conveniently located.

(2) Press and Publicity Committee.

This committee should see that all the papers in the county are supplied with suffrage stories, articles and pictures. Special effort should be made to supply news to the papers regarding the activity of the local suffrage organizations throughout the county. Where the state organization has an active publicity department, the county committee should co-operate with it, especially in securing the insertion of plate matter, etc., in all county papers. This committee should keep the state headquarters informed in advance of all proposed suffrage events in the county, should also see that

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the state headquarters is put on the mailing list of every paper, and should keep for its own use and information a complete set of suffrage clippings from the county papers. This committee should devise plans for special publicity events suitable to the county.

(3) LITERATURE COMMITTEE.

The Literature Committee should buy and sell Suffrage Literature and Novelties (send to State or National Headquarters for Free Catalogue and Price List), should provide literature for free distribution in organization work, should provide literature for sale and for free distribution at public meetings. The Literature Committee should have a sub-committee (perhaps called an Outlook Committee) whose special duty is keeping a list of all meetings held in the county and securing permission to distribute suffrage literature at such meetings.

(4) FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The Finance Committee should solicit contributions for the support of the work and should arrange money-making benefits.

(5) ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE.

The Enrollment Committee should copy the Voting List for each town and township, should provide the town and township Leaders with a copy, who in turn should give each Election Division (or precinct) Leader the name of voters in her Election Division (or precinct). This Committee should see that membership blanks are distributed at all public meetings, and should classify blanks signed at such meetings according to towns and townships. This committee should further the enrollment of members in every way possible.

General

Every committee should have regular meetings at stated times, at which every officer and the chairman of every standing committee should present a written report of work accomplished, and should present for approval plans for future work. County and legislative district committees should meet monthly, if possible, although the difficulty of travel in many rural counties permits of quarterly meetings only. Town and township committees should meet every two weeks.

3. HOW TO ORGANIZE A VOTING PRECINCT

The precinct, or election division, is the smallest unit in the political division of our government. Upon the effectiveness of the work in the precinct depends the strength or weakness of our organization.

Each precinct should have a captain or leader, who in the beginning is appointed by the leader of the legislative district, ward or town of which the precinct is a part.

The precinct leader's duties should be fully and definitely outlined, and it should be clearly understood that if she proves not to be adapted to or successful in the work she will be asked to resign.

The purpose of the precinct work is to educate men and women to a belief in and desire to work for suffrage, so that an organization may be built up which will be effective in campaign.

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The precinct captain should, by virtue of her office, be a member of the committee of the political division next in rank to the precinct. In some cases this would be the ward committee, in others the city committee, etc., and to this committee the precinct captain should make regular written reports.

Duties of Precinct Captains.—The precinct captain should secure from her superior officer a statement of the exact boundaries of her precinct, a list of the voters in her precinct and a list of those persons in her precinct already enrolled as members of the suffrage organization.

The precinct should be divided into sections, the number of divisions to depend upon the population. The captain should then call upon the women of her precinct who are already enrolled members, in order to secure helpers. To each helper should be assigned one of the sections into which the precinct is divided.

The captain should acquaint herself fully with the conditions in her precinct, so that she will appoint as her helper in each section a person who will best reach the people of that section. The captain should give helpers definite instructions, should insist upon regular written reports, either monthly or bi-monthly, and should urge that definite time be given to the work. If there is no regularity to the work or the time given to it, there is a big chance that it will not be done at all.

Regular meetings of the precinct captains and helpers should be held every month. In campaign states they should be held every two weeks.

A record should be kept of the attitude toward suffrage of each man and woman in the precinct. For this purpose it is well to use a card system, having a card of one color for a voter and a card of another color for a non-voter, so that the two classes can be easily separated and yet all kept in alphabetical order. On the card, the name of each person visited should be recorded with exact address, giving the legislative district, ward and precinct, and opposite the name the attitude should be recorded as "in favor," "indifferent" or "opposed," as the case may be, with the date of the helper's visit.

In campaigns each precinct captain should have for use on election day a poll book in which to list voters' names, political affiliations and attitude toward suffrage. . .

Every captain should keep a list of every public meeting place in the precinct, such as churches, schoolhouses, libraries, theatres, moving picture houses, etc., and learn under what conditions they may be secured for public meetings.

Work for the year should be planned so that every voter in the precinct will have suffrage brought to his attention at least once a month.

The precinct leader should keep helpers plentifully supplied with good suffrage literature and should see that it is used effectively, not wastefully.

Suggestions for Helpers.—The duty of the helper is to educate to a belief in suffrage every man and woman in her section of the precinct.

This is impossible unless the helper herself is a student of suffrage "History, Arguments and Results." Buy one. Also read the Woman's Journal constantly, the Headquarters News Letter, and your own state paper or bulletin.

Begin your work by calling upon the women in your section during the day. Try to set aside a regular time each week and then use that time. Don't procrastinate. Make your visit short, do not become involved in

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disputatious argument, and do not try to convert at the first visit. Never antagonize. Leave literature and urge that it be read. Always carry membership cards with you.

After the first canvass of the women has been made, the second canvass should be in the evening, when voters also may be seen.

Keep an accurate record of each visit and its result.

Make a written report to your precinct leader as required by her.

Be ready at all times to circularize your section in the interest of any public suffrage meeting, if so directed by your leader.

Remember that if every precinct were carefully worked and thoroughly organized, no campaign would fail. Let each individual helper do her part.

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DIVISION XIX

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION FOR SUFFRAGE WORKERS

THE NUMBER OF U. S. REPRESENTATIVES ALLOTTED EACH STATE AND PARTY DIVISION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 63rd AND 64th CONGRESSES

[The following information has been reprinted from "The World Almanac" (1916), pp. 489 and 490.]

States	Apportionment of Congressional Representation at 1910 Census	Sixty-Third Congress			Sixty-Fourth Congress		
	Number of U. S. Representatives Allotted Each State	Dem.	Rep.	Prog.	Dem.	Rep.	Prog.
Alabama	10	10	..	..	10	..	..
Arizona	1	1	..	..	1	..	..
Arkansas	7	7	..	..	7	..	..
[1]California	11	3	6	2	4	3	3
Colorado	4	4	..	..	3	1	..
Connecticut	5	5	..	..	..	5	..
Delaware	1	1	..	..	..	1	..
Florida	4	4	..	..	4	..	..
Georgia	12	12	..	..	12	..	..
Idaho	2	..	2	..	..	2	..
Illinois	27	20	4	3	10	16	1
Indiana	13	13	..	..	11	2	..
Iowa	11	3	8	..	1	10	..
Kansas	8	5	2	1	6	2	..
Kentucky	11	9	2	..	9	2	..
Louisiana	8	8	..	..	7	..	1
Maine	4	1	3	..	1	3	..
Maryland	6	6	..	..	5	1	..
Massachusetts	16	8	8	..	4	12	..
Michigan	13	2	9	2	2	11	..
Minnesota	10	1	9	..	1	8	1
Mississippi	8	8	..	..	8	..	..
Missouri	16	14	2	..	14	2	..
Montana	2	2	..	..	2	..	..
Nebraska	6	2	4	..	3	3	..
Nevada	1	..	1	..	..	1	..
New Hampshire	2	2	..	..	..	2	..
New Jersey	12	11	1	..	4	8	..
New Mexico	1	1	..	..	..	1	..
[2]New York	43	31	11	1	18	23	1
North Carolina	10	10	..	..	9	1	..
North Dakota	3	..	3	..	..	3	..
Ohio	22	19	3	..	9	13	..
Oklahoma	8	6	2	..	7	1	..
Oregon	3	..	2	1	..	3	..
Pennsylvania	36	12	18	6	6	30	..
Rhode Island	3	2	1	..	1	2	..
South Carolina	7	7	..	..	7	..	..
South Dakota	3	..	3	..	1	2	..
Tennessee	10	8	2	..	8	2	..
Texas	18	18	..	..	18	..	..
Utah	2	..	2	..	1	1	..
Vermont	2	..	2	..	..	2	..
Virginia	10	9	1	..	9	1	..
Washington	5	..	3	2	1	4	..
West Virginia	6	2	4	..	3	3	..
Wisconsin	11	3	8	..	3	8	..
Wyoming	1	..	1	..	..	1	..
Total	435	290	127	18	230	196	7

[1] California had one Independent in addition in the 64th Congress.
[2] New York had one Socialist in addition in the 64th Congress.

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I.—TERM OF GOVERNOR OF EACH STATE. II—TERMS OF MEMBERS OF STATE LEGISLATURES. III—TIMES OF HOLDING SESSIONS OF STATE LEGISLATURES

[Reprinted from "The World Almanac," 1916, by permission.]

STATES AND TERRITORIES	Term of Governor, Years	Term Expires	LEGISLATURES				
			Terms of Members, Years		Session, Annually or Bien.	Next Regular Session Begins	Limit of Session
			Senators	Representatives			
Alabama	4	Jan. 1919	4	4	Quad.	Jan. 7, 1919	50 days
Alaska	4	Oct. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Mar. 5, 1917	60 days
Arizona	2	Dec. 1916	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 8, 1917	60 days
Arkansas	2	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 1917	60 days
California	4	Jan. 1919	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 8, 1917	None
Colorado	2	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 3, 1917	90 days
Connecticut	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 3, 1917	None
Delaware	4	Jan. 21, 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 2, 1917	60 days
Florida	4	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	April 3, 1917	60 days
Georgia	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Annually	June 27, 1917	50 days
Hawaii	4	Nov. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Feb. 21, 1917	60 days
Idaho	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 2, 1917	60 days
Illinois	4	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 3, 1917	None
Indiana	4	Jan. 11, 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 4, 1917	60 days
Iowa	2	Dec. 1916	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 8, 1917	None
Kansas	2	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 9, 1917	50 days
Kentucky	4	Dec. 1919	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 4, 1916	60 days
Louisiana	4	May 1916	4	4	Biennially	May 8, 1916	60 days
Maine	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 3, 1917	None
Maryland	4	Jan. 1920	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 5, 1916	90 days
Massachusetts	1	Jan. 1917	1	1	Annually	Jan. 5, 1916	None
Michigan	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 3, 1917	None
Minnesota	2	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 2, 1917	90 days
Mississippi	4	Jan. 1920	4	4	Biennially	Jan. 4, 1916	None
Missouri	4	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 3, 1917	70 days
Montana	4	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 1, 1917	60 days
Nebraska	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 1917	60 days
Nevada	4	Jan. 1919	2–4	2	Biennially	Feb. 1917	60 days
New Hampshire	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 3, 1917	None
New Jersey	3	Jan. 15, 1917	3	1	Annually	Jan. 11, 1916	None
New Mexico	5	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 9, 1917	60 days
New York	2	Dec. 31, 1916	2	1	Annually	Jan. 5, 1916	None
North Carolina	4	Jan. 1, 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 3, 1917	60 days
North Dakota	2	Dec. 31, 1916	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 4, 1916	60 days
Ohio	2	Jan. 8, 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 1, 1917	None
Oklahoma	4	Jan. 11, 1919	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 2, 1917	60 days
Oregon	4	Jan. 1919	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 8, 1917	40 days
Pennsylvania	4	Jan. 1919	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 2, 1917	None
Porto Rico	4	Dec. 16, 1917	4	2	Annually	Feb. 4, 1916	60 days
Rhode Island	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Annually	Jan. 4, 1916	60 days
South Carolina	2	Jan. 1917	4	2	Annually	Jan. 11, 1916	40 days
South Dakota	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 2, 1917	60 days
Tennessee	2	Jan. 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 1, 1917	75 days
Texas	2	Jan. 12, 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 9, 1917	90 days
Utah	4	Jan. 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 8, 1917	60 days
Vermont	2	Jan. 6, 1917	2	2	Biennially	Jan. 3, 1917	None
Virginia	4	Feb. 1, 1918	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 11, 1916	60 days
Washington	4	Jan. 1, 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 8, 1917	60 days
West Virginia	4	Mar. 4, 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 10, 1917	45 days
Wisconsin	2	Jan. 1, 1917	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 1917	None
Wyoming	4	Jan. 1919	4	2	Biennially	Jan. 9, 1917	40 days

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THE ELECTORIAL VOTE OF EACH STATE

EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES	Electoral Votes
Arizona	3
California	13
Colorado	6
Idaho	4
Illinois	29
Kansas	10
Montana	4
Nevada	3
Oregon	5
Utah	4
Washington	7
Wyoming	3
Total	91

MALE SUFFRAGE STATES	Electoral Votes
Alabama	12
Arkansas	9
Connecticut	7
Delaware	3
Florida	6
Georgia	14
Indiana	15
Iowa	13
Kentucky	13
Louisiana	10
Maine	6
Maryland	8
Massachusetts	18
Michigan	15
Minnesota	12
Mississippi	10
Missouri	18
Nebraska	8
New Hampshire	4
New Jersey	14
New Mexico	3
New York	45
North Carolina	12
North Dakota	5
Ohio	24
Oklahoma	10
Pennsylvania	38
Rhode Island	5
South Carolina	9
South Dakota	5
Tennessee	12
Texas	20
Vermont	4
Virginia	12
West Virginia	8
Wisconsin	13
Total	440

LIST OF STATES WHICH HAVE THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

The National American Woman Suffrage Association several years ago went on record in favor of the Initiative and Referendum as an aid toward woman suffrage.

Under the Initiative a certain number of voters may propose a law or constitutional amendment by petition. If a petition receives the required number of signatures, the proposition is submitted to popular vote, and if carried becomes law.

Under the Referendum measures already passed by the Legislature may be referred to the people.

The following states have the Initiative and Referendum:

	Date of Adoption
Arkansas	1910
Arizona	1911
California	1911
Colorado	1910
Idaho*	1912
Maryland**	1915
Montana†	1906
Maine†	1908
Missouri	1908
Michigan††	1913
Nevada	1905
Nebraska	1912
New Mexico**	1911
North Dakota	1914
Ohio	1912
Oklahoma	1907
Oregon	1902
South Dakota†	1898
Utah*	1900
Washington†	1912

*Legislature has refused to pass an enabling act; hence people have never been able to use it.
† No constitutional initative.
†† No referendum.
** No initiative.

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LIST OF PROHIBITION STATES *

State	*How Law Adopted*	*Date of Adoption*
Alabama	By the Legislature	1915
Arizona	By popular vote	1914
Arkansas	By the Legislature	1915
Colorado	By popular vote	1914
Georgia	By the Legislature	1907
Idaho	By the Legislature	1915
Iowa	By the Legislature	1915
Kansas	By popular vote	1881
Maine	By popular vote	1884
Michigan	By popular vote	1916
Montana**	By popular vote	1916
Mississippi	By the Legislature	1908
Nebraska	By popular vote	1916
North Carolina	By popular vote	1908
North Dakota	By popular vote	1889
Oklahoma	By popular vote	1907
Oregon	By popular vote	1914
South Carolina	By popular vote	1915
South Dakota	By popular vote	1916
Virginia	By the Legislature	1914
Washington	By popular vote	1914
West Virginia	By popular vote	1912

* Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1916, and The World Almanac, 1917.
** In effect January, 1919.

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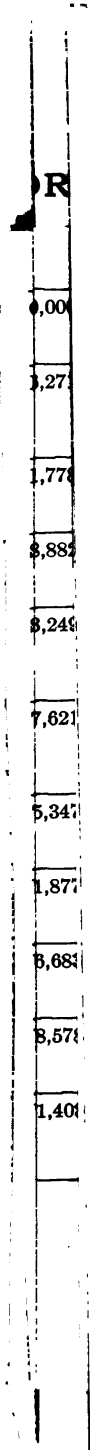

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DIVISION XX

UNITED STATES

LIST OF PRO-SUFFRAGE PERIODICALS

WOMAN'S JOURNAL AND SUFFRAGE NEWS. Weekly. Founded by Alice Stone and Henry B. Blackwell in 1870. Editor, Alice Stone Blackwell, 45 Boutwell St., Dorchester (Boston), Mass. $1.00 a year.

A newspaper devoted to winning Equal Rights and especially Equal Suffrage for women. It has always been the organ of the suffrage movement in the United States. It gives the kind of news and comment one cannot get in the daily papers or in other publications.

HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER. Monthly. Bulletin of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. 171 Madison Ave., New York City. 25 cents a year.

Its purpose is to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its thousands of members throughout the country. It gives reports, announcements and official communications from the officers.

ALABAMA SUFFRAGE BULLETIN. Birmingham, Alabama.

DIXIE SUFFRAGETTE. Noravian Fall, North Carolina.

EVERYWOMAN. Mechanics Institute Building, San Francisco, California.

FEMINA. Monthly. Colonial Building, Boylston St., Boston, Mass. $1.50 a year.

HEADQUARTERS NEWS BULLETIN. Semi-Monthly. Organ of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association. Warren, Ohio. 50 cents a year.

LIFE AND LABOR. Organ of the National Women's Trade Union League. 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Illinois. 50 cents a year. (Votes for Women Section.)

MARYLAND SUFFRAGE NEWS, THE. Weekly. Published by the Just Government League of Maryland. 817 No. Charles St., Baltimore, Maryland. $1.00 a year.

MICHIGAN SUFFRAGIST, THE. Monthly. Organ of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association. 405 S. Burdick St., Kalamazoo, Michigan. 25 cents a year.

MISSOURI WOMAN, THE. Monthly. 1627 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Missouri. 50 cents a year. The votes for women section is edited by the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association.

NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN, THE. Organ of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference. 417 Camp St., New Orleans, Louisiana. 50 cents a year.

NEW CITIZEN, THE. 336 Camp St., New Orleans, Louisiana.

OHIO WOMAN, THE. Columbus, Ohio.

PROGRESSIVE TEACHER. Nashville, Tennessee.

SUFFRAGIST, THE. Weekly. Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C. $1.00 a year.

SUFFRAGE MESSENGER. Lincoln, Nebraska.

SOUTH DAKOTA MESSENGER. Pierre, South Dakota.

UNIVERSAL CAUSE, THE. 609 Navarre Building, St. Louis, Missouri.

VANGUARD, THE. Monthly. Organ of the National Council of Women Voters. 505 Perkins Building, Tacoma, Washington.

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VIRGINIA SUFFRAGE NEWS. Richmond, Virginia.

WOMAN'S BULLETIN, THE. 704 Higgins Building, Los Angeles, California.

WOMAN CITIZEN, THE. Sullivan, Indiana.

WOMAN VOTER, THE. Monthly. Published by the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City. 48 East 34th St. 50 cents a year.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL WEEKLY. University City, St. Louis, Missouri.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE WEEKLY. 328 S. Winchester Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

WOMAN'S WITNESS, THE. Anderson, Indiana.

WISCONSIN CITIZEN, THE. Brodhead, Wisconsin.

WOMEN LAWYERS' JOURNAL. Monthly. 519 Garfield Ave., Richmond Hill, New York.

INTERNATIONAL LIST OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE PAPERS

International Woman Suffrage News (formerly Jus Suffragii). Monthly. Organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Publication office, 7 Adam St., Adelphi, London. $1.00 a year. (Printed in English.) It gives the news of the organized movement for woman suffrage throughout the world. Twenty-six countries are affiliated with the Alliance.

(The following list is reprinted from "Jus Suffragii," November, 1916.)

AUSTRALIA—The Liberal Woman (M.) [1]Ish., [2]B.N.Z. Chambers, Wynyard St., Sydney.
The Woman Voter (W.) 2s., Whitehall, Melbourne, Victoria.
***AUSTRIA—Der Bund** (M.) 2kr., 7 Rochusgasse, Wien III.
Neues Frauenleben (M.), 6fr., Porzellangasse 32, Wien IX.
Oesterreichische Frauenrudschau (M.), 6kr., 11 Am Hof, Wien I.
Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht (M.), 2kr., 7 Reichsratstr, Wien I.
***BELGIUM—Lê Féminisme Chrétien** (M.), 2.50fr., 57 Ave. Jean Linden, Brussels.
L'International Feminin (M.), 1.50fr., Ave. Brugmann 104, Brussels.
La Ligue—Organe Belge du Droit des Femmes (Q.), 5fr., 232 Ave. Albert, Brussels.
***BOHEMIA—Zensky Obzor,** 7kr., Praha-Kral-Uinohrady, Ripská ul. 3n I posch.
***BULGARIA—Grajdanka (The Woman Citizen),** 6fr., Mrs. Pateff Bojilowa, Bourgas.
Jenshy Glas, 6fr., 41 Rue Gladstone, Sofia.
Ravno Pravie (Equality), 4rb., 61, Mirska St., Kazanlik.
CANADA—Woman's Century (M.), $1.00, 87, Roncevalles Ave., Toronto.
DENMARK—Kvinden og Samfundet (F.), 3.10kr., Studiestraede 49[2], Copenhagen.
FINLAND—Samtid (M.), 6mk., Helsingfors.
FRANCE—La Suffragiste (M.), 4fr., 55, Rue Damrémont, Paris.
La Française (W.), 8fr., 17, Rue de l'Annonciation, Paris.
***Ligue d'Electeurs pour le Suffrage des Femmes** (Q.), 4fr., 55, Rue de Strasbourg, Courbevoie (Seine).
***Le Droit des Femmes** (M.), 3.50fr., 127, Ave. de Clichy, Paris.
***La Femme de Demain** (M.), 4fr., 55, Rue de Seine, Paris.
***La Femme** (M.), 5fr., M. A. Bonnefoy, 5, Rue de Pré-aux-Clercs, Paris.
***L'Action Féminine, Bulletin National des Femmes Françaises** (every other month), 3fr., 1, Ave. Malakoff, Paris.
***Bulletin de L'Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes** (Q.), 53, Rue Scheffer, Paris.
Jus Suffragii (M.), 5fr., Organ International W.S. Alliance (French Edition), Mme. E. Loppé, 34, Rue Raynouard, Paris.[3]
GERMANY—Frauenstimmrecht (M.), 4mk., Organ Deutscher Verband f. Fr.st.r., Munich, Kaulbachstr., 12.
Die Frauenfrage (F), 4.40mk., Centralblatt des Bundes Deutscher Frauenvereine, Dresden—A., Reissigerstr., 17.
Die Frau der Gegenwart (F.), 3mk., Kaiser Wilhelmstr. 109, Breslau XIII.
Die Frauenbewegung (F), 5.50mk., Wormserstr, 5, Berlin W 62.
Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht (F), 2mk., Wormserstr. 5, Berlin W 62.

[1] M—monthly, W—weekly, Q—quarterly, F—fortnightly.
[2] In all cases the foreign subscription rate per annum is given—this includes postage.
[3] Subscribers to French Edition not resident in France should send fee to London Office.
* These papers are not at present reaching I.W.S.A. headquarters.

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GREAT BRITAIN—The Common Cause (W.), 8s. 8d., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.
Votes for Women (M.), 2s., 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.
The Suffragette News Sheet (M.), 1s. 6d., 144, High Holborn, London, W.C.
The Vote (W.), 8s. 8d., 144, High Holborn, London, W.C.
The Labour Woman (M.), 1s., 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.
International Woman Suffrage News (formerly Jus Suffragii) (M.), 4s., Organ International W. S. Alliance, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.
The Catholic Suffragist (M.), 1s. 6d., 55, Berners Street, London, W.
The Irish Citizen (M.), 1s. 6d.,* Dublin.
The Woman's Dreadnought (W.), 8s. 8d., 400, Old Ford Rd., London, E.
The Coming Day (Free Church League) (M.), 1s. 6d., 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London, E.C.
HUNGARY—A nö és a Tarsadalom (M), 6kr., 67, István-utca, Nök Lapja, Budapest VII.
ICELAND—Kvennabladid (M.), 2 kr., Fru Briet Asmundsson, Reykjavik.
ITALY—Le Difesa delle Lavoratrici, 3fr., Via S. Damiano 16, Milan.
Unione Femminile Nazionale, 1.50 lire, Via Monte de Pieta 9, Milan.
NETHERLANDS—Maandblad v.d. Vereen, v. Vrouwenkiesrecht (M.), 1fl., Keizersgracht 467-469, Amsterdam.
De Ploeger (M.), 0.60fl., Ooosteinde 16, Amsterdam.
NORWAY—Nylaende (F.), 4.70kr., Victoria Terasse 5[2], Kristiania.
***POLAND—Ster,** 10fr., Nowy-Swiat 4, Warsaw.
***PORTUGAL—A Mulher Portuguesa,** 40 Centavos, Largo do Calhariz 15, Lisbon.
ROUMANIA—*Viitorul Românceior, 10lei, Strada Muzelor, Jassy.
Drepturile Femeii, 10lei, 204 Calla Serban Voda, Bucarest.
RUSSIA—Jenski Westnik (M.), Spalernaya 42, log 18, St. Petersburg.
SOUTH AFRICA—The Woman's Outlook (M.), 2s. 6d., P.O. Box 70, Uitenhage, Cape Province.
SWEDEN—Rosträtt för Kvinnor (F.), 1.75kr., 6, Lastmakaregatan, Stockholm.
Hertha (W.), 4.50kr., 48, Klarabergsgatan, Stockholm.
Morgonbris (M.), 1.20kr., Folkets Hus, Stockholm.
SWITZERLAND—Frauenbestrebungen (M.), 2.50fr., Tödistrasse 45, Zürich II.
Le Mouvement Féministe (M.), 3.50fr., Pregny, Geneva.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLICATIONS‡

BOOKS OF REFERENCE AND STUDY COURSES

Woman Suffrage in Practice. (1913.) (Hand Book.)**
Published by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Report of Seventh Congress of The International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

The Hand Book of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. (1916.)§

Woman Suffrage—History, Arguments and Results. (Suffrage Workers' Manual.)†

The Case for Woman Suffrage.—A Bibliography. Bt MARGARET LADD FRANKLIN.

Social Forces. A Topical Outline with Bibliography.
Published by the Education Committee of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association.

Woman Suffrage. (Booklet.) Prepared by JUSTINA LEAVITT WILSON.
A Study Outline.

Suffrage Correspondence School.
Issued by the New York State Woman Suffrage Party.

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[2] In all cases foreign subscription rate per annum is given—this includes postage
* These papers are not at present reaching I. W. S. A. headquarters.
§ National American Woman Suffrage Association.
† National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.
‡ Books listed here may be secured through the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.
** See page 148.

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GENERAL LIST OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLICATIONS

Are Women A Force For Good Government? (Article) By EDITH ABBOT. The National Municipal Review, July, 1916.

Objections Answered. (Pamphlet.)† By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Common Man and the Franchise. (Pamphlet.)† By CHARLES BEARD.

The Emancipation of Englishwomen. By W. LYON BLEASE. London: David Nutt (1913).

Where Women Vote. (Pamphlet.)† By FRANCES M. BJORKMAN and ANNIE G. PORRITT.
Facts and Statistics in suffrage states and countries.

Woman Suffrage and the Liquor Interests. By FRANCES M. BJORKMAN (Editor).
An illustrated pamphlet giving proof of the organized opposition of the liquor interests.†

A World Review of Woman Suffrage. (Article.) By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT. Woman Citizen's Library, Vol. 7 (1913).

Presidential Address. "The Crisis." (Published in 1916 Hand Book of the N.A.W.S.A.) Delivered at the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, September, 1916.

Do You Know? (Pamphlet.)† By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Woman Suffrage by Federal Constitutional Amendment.† (Vol. I, National Suffrage Library.) By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Measuring Up Equal Suffrage. (Pamphlet.) By GEORGE CREEL and JUDGE BEN LINDSEY.
An estimate of results in Colorado.

Chivalry Versus Justice. (Pamphlet.)† By GEORGE CREEL.

What Have Women Done with the Vote? (Pamphlet.) By GEORGE CREEL.
A brilliant summary of the results of Woman Suffrage in the United States.

Is Woman Suffrage Important? (Pamphlet.)† By MAX EASTMAN.

Effect of Vote of Women on Legislation. (Pamphlet.)†
An investigation in the Equal Suffrage States made by the "N. Y. Evening Sun."

Woman Suffrage Which Way? (Pamphlet.)† By HELEN GARDINER.

Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony. (3 vols.) By IDA HUSTED HARPER.
"A complete biography, picturesquely and dramatically sketched against the background of the Woman Suffrage Movement."

Brief History of Woman Suffrage. (Pamphlet.)† By IDA HUSTED HARPER.
Survey of the movement from 1647–1914.

National Amendment for Woman Suffrage. (Pamphlet.)† By IDA HUSTED HARPER.

Julia Ward Howe. (1819–1910.) By LAURA E. RICHARDS and MAUD HOWE ELLIOTT. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co. (2 vols.)

Anti-Suffrage Monologue.† By MARIE JENNEY HOWE.

Woman Suffrage and the Social Evil. (Pamphlet.)† By KATHARINE HOUGHTON HEPBURN.

Socializing Influence of the Ballot. By EMILY J. HUTCHINSON.
American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. (Vol. 56.)

To the House of Governors. (Pamphlet.)† By MARY JOHNSTON.

" Common Sense " Applied to Woman Suffrage. By DR. MARY PUTNAM JACOBI. New York: G. P. Putnam (1915).
"As valuable as propaganda to-day as it was when presented to the New York Constitutional Convention of 1884. The book contains valuable historical data as well as sound arguments for woman suffrage. It is reprinted and brought to date with an introduction by Frances Maule Bjorkman."

† National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.

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Suffrage for Women. By JOHN STUART MILL.
A famous speech made in the English Parliament in 1869.†

The Subjection of Women. By JOHN STUART MILL. New York: Longmans Green Co. (1906).
New edition with introductory analysis by S. Coit.

Are Women People? By ALICE DUER MILLER. New York: George Doran Co. (1915).

Facts and Figures Concerning Equal Suffrage. (Article.) By FLORENCE BENNETT PETERSON.
Woman Citizen's Library, Vol. 7 (1913).

Shall Women Have the Right to Vote? (Pamphlet.)† By WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Woman Suffrage. (Debaters' Hand Book.) By EDITH M. PHELPS. White Plains, N. Y.: The H. W. Wilson Co. (New ed., 1916).
Material on both sides of the suffrage question is presented for debating purposes. The brief is helpful in analysis of arguments.

Ready Reference on Principal Parliamentary Points. (Booklet.)† By MARY R. PLUMMER.

Way Stations. By ELIZABETH ROBINS. New York: Dodd, Mead (1913).
Speeches, lectures and articles upon the English Militant Movement.

Discriminations Against Women in the Laws of New York. (Pamphlet.)† By GILBERT ROE.

Letters and Addresses on Woman Suffrage by Catholic Ecclesiastics.† By MARGARET HAYDEN RORKE.

Eighty Years and More. (1815–1897.) (Reminiscences.) By ELIZABETH CADY STANTON. London: T. Fisher Unwin (1898).
Columbia University Library.

The Story of a Pioneer. By DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW. New York: Harper Bros. (1915).
The greatest suffrage book of the year is Dr. Anna Howard Shaw's "Story of a Pioneer." It is the record of an amazingly varied and interesting career, told with that vividness and charm which have made Dr. Shaw famous as a speaker. It is the story of one American woman, but it is the epitome of the spirit of all women pioneers. The events are colored by Dr. Shaw's personality, nevertheless they represent the struggles of thousands of women in this century. . . . "The Woman Voter."

Address Delivered December, 1915, upon Retiring from the Presidency of the National Association.† By DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

Alabama Speech. April, 1915. By DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.
Refutes favorite anti-suffrage arguments.†

Ten Extempore Answers to Questions.† By DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

Passages from Dr. Shaw's Speeches.†
Edited by CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES.

Equal Suffrage: a Problem of Political Justice. (Vol. 56.) By DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.
(American Academy of Political and Social Science Annals, 1914.)

Equal Suffrage. By HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH.
A speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, April 25, 1916.†

Equal Suffrage. By HELEN LAURA SUMNER. New York: Harper Bros. (1909).
The results of an investigation in Colorado made for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York.

Twenty-five Answers to Antis. By Twenty-five Eminent Suffragists.†

Why Equal Suffrage Has Been a Success. (Pamphlet.)† By THADDEUS P. THOMAS.

Woman Suffrage. Address written by Southern California women and presented in the United States Senate by Senator Works.†

† National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.

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Petitions, Memorials and Editorials on Woman Suffrage . . . During the Second Session of the Sixty-third Congress. (Hand Book of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (1914).

Winning Equal Suffrage in California.
Reports of Committees of the College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California. "Useful in conducting every phase of campaign work."

House of Commons: Women's Suffrage Returns showing (1) the number of petitions . . . in favor of women's suffrage for each session from 1890–1906. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode (1906).
New York Public Library.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE UNITED STATES SENATE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION.

ON

S. J. Res. I. and S. J. Res. II.

A Joint Resolution Proposing an Amendment to The Constitution of the United States Extending the Right of Suffrage to Women.
The Hearings contain statements by: Dr. Anna Howard Shaw; Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell; Miss Ruutz-Rees; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; Mrs. Harriet Stokes Thompson; Mrs. George Bass; Mrs. Medill McCormick; Miss Anne Martin; Mrs. William Spencer Murray; Mrs. Annie Porritt; Mrs. Dana Durand; Miss Julia Hurlburt; Mrs. Agnes Jenks; Mrs. Alden H. Potter; Mrs. Glendower Evans; Mrs. R. H. Ashbaugh; Mrs. James Rector; Mrs. Cyrus Mead; Miss Frances Joliffe; Mrs. Sarah Bard Field; Mrs. A. M. Dodge; Mrs. M. C. Talbot; Miss Florence Hale; Mrs. George P. White; Miss Lucy J. Price; Mrs. A. J. George.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE PUBLICATIONS.

(To be obtained from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14 Great Smith Street, London.)

Report of the London Congress. (1909.)

Report of the Stockholm Congress. (1911.)

Report of the Budapest Congress. (1913.) New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.

Mrs. Catt's Presidential Address at Stockholm (1911). The World Movement for Woman Suffrage. (1904–1911.)

Mrs. Catt's Presidential Address at Budapest (1913). New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.

Woman Suffrage in Practice. (1913.) In three editions: English, French and German. Foreword by MRS. CATT, President of the Alliance. Compilers: CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, MARIE STRITT, MARIE VERONE.
"The book contains a description of the franchises, political, municipal and school, etc., at present possessed by women throughout the world; the qualifications of electors and conditions of eligibility; a table of woman suffrage dates; short historical accounts of the movement in different countries; a table of international vital statistics; tables of election voting returns of men and women in Woman Suffrage States; laws passed, resolutions in Legislatures, and statements by prominent men. . . ."

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HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

History of Woman Suffrage:
Vols. I., II., and III. by ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, SUSAN B. ANTHONY and MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.
Vol. IV. by SUSAN B. ANTHONY and IDA HUSTED HARPER.
Vol. I. (1848–1861). New York: Fowler & Wells (1881).
Vol. II. (1861–1876). New York: Fowler & Wells (1882).
Vol. III. (1876–1885). Published by SUSAN B. ANTHONY. Rochester, N. Y.: Charles Mann (1887).
Vol. IV. (1883–1900). Published by SUSAN B. ANTHONY. Rochester, N. Y.: Charles Mann (1902).
(Library of Congress; National American Woman Suffrage Association; New York Public Library.)

Brief History of Woman Suffrage. (Pamphlet.)† By IDA HUSTED HARPER.
Survey of the Movement from 1647–1914.

The Woman Movement in America. By BELLE SQUIRE. Chicago: McClurg Co. (1911).
Sketches of the different phases of the woman movement.

Woman Suffrage in Practice. Published by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1913. Compilers: CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, MARIE STRITT, MARIE VERONE.
Contains a history of the franchises which have been granted to women throughout the world.
To be obtained from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14 Great Smith Street, London.
(Columbia University Library; New York Public Library.)

Where Women Vote. (Included in "Woman Suffrage.") By FRANCES M. BJORKMAN and ANNIE G. PORRITT. New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. (Revised 1917.)
Contains a history of the franchises which have been granted to women in the Equal Suffrage States and elsewhere.

Women's Suffrage in Many Lands. By ALICE ZIMMERN. A history of the movement throughout the world. With a foreword by MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT. London: Francis & Co. (1910).
(New York Public Library.)

The World Movement for Woman Suffrage. (1904–1911.)
Being the Presidential Address delivered by MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT at the Sixth Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Presidential Address delivered by MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT at the Seventh Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, at Budapest, June, 1913.
National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.

A Short History of Women's Rights. By EUGENE A. HECKER. New York: G. P. Putnam Sons (1910).
A short history of women's rights from the days of Augustus to the present time, with special references to England and the United States.

The Modern Woman's Rights Movement. By DR. KAETHE SCHIRMACHER. New York: MacMillan Co. (1912).
"An historical survey of the movement all over the world." First published, 1905; revised, 1909; translated and published, 1912.

Woman Suffrage in New Zealand. By MRS. K. A. SHEPPARD. Published by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (1907).
"Gives the history, extent and results of the movement in New Zealand, with testimonials from leading citizens."

Record of Woman Suffrage. By HELEN BLACKBURN. London: Williams & Norgate (1902). (Boston Public Library.)
A record of the progress of woman suffrage prior to the Militant Movement.

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† National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.

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Women's Suffrage; a Short History of a Great Movement. By MILLICENT GARRITT FAWCETT. London: T. C. Jack (1910). 94 pages.
Represents the non-militant attitude of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

My Own Story. By EMMELINE PANKHURST. New York: Hearst's International Library Co. (1914).
A review of the progress of the Militant Movement.

The Suffragette. By SYLVIA E. PANKHURST. New York: Sturgis & Walton (1911).
The History of the Women's Militant Suffrage Movement (down to the year 1911).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia. By KATHARINE ANTHONY. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (1915). $1.25.
"This is the first book in English containing a substantial and concrete statement of what Feminism means beyond the English Channel. The major part of the book deals with the movement for maternity protection, which has made such rapid headway in Germany and Scandinavia . . . . other chapters trace the influence of German and Scandinavian feminism on women's education, dress, work and admission to the franchise."

What Women Want. By BEATRICE FORBES ROBERTSON HALE. New York: Stokes & Co. (1915). $1.25.
"This brilliant historical review is something that no suffrage worker should fail to become master of, even though she knows suffrage history as such, for here is a very fresh, lively interpretation of the facts of each period, and what each age has contributed to the woman's movement."—The Woman Voter.

The Woman Movement. By ELLEN KEY. New York: G. P. Putnam (1912).

Woman and Labour. By OLIVE SCHREINER. New York: Frederick Stokes Co. (1911). $1.25.

The Future of the Women's Movement. By MRS. H. M. SWANWICK. With an introduction by Mrs. H. Fawcett. London: G. Bell & Sons (1913). 2s. 6d.
Some of the topics discussed: "Causes of the Women's Movement"—"What is the Women's Movement?"—"The Subjection of Women"—"Physical Force"—"Democracy and Representative Government"—"Votes, the Economic Problem"—"The Wage Earner," Etc.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN

Woman and The Law. By GEORGE J. BAYLES. New York: The Century Co. (1901). $1.40.
The law as regards domestic property and public relations.

Legal Position of Women in Norway. By J. CASTENBERG. (The Nineteenth Century Magazine, February, 1912.)

California Laws of Interest to Women and Children. (Paper supplement, 1914.) California State Library, Sacramento, California.

Legal Status of Canadian Women. By HENRIETTA M. EDWARDS.
Published by the National Council of Women of Canada, Calgary, Alta. (1908.)

The Legal Rights of Women. By LEMUEL H. FOSTER. Detroit, Michigan: Woman's Publishing Co. (1913).
"Adapted for use in every State by means of a brief synopsis of the laws relating to property rights, dower, divorce, etc."

Women's Position in the Laws of the Nations. Karlsruhe: C. Brown (1912).
Published by the International Council of Women.

The Rights of Women. By M. I. OSTROGORSKI. London: Sonnenschein Co. (1908). New York: Charles Scribner Sons.

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Laws Affecting Women and Children in the Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States. By ANNIE G. PORRITT. New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. (1916). Postpaid paper $1.05; cloth $1.58.

"The National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc., in offering to its public this digest of the laws of the various States relating to matters of the greatest interest to women, wishes to state that its purpose is to give the Suffrage workers and speakers a ready reference book containing a general statement of the statutory law of the various States, relating to the particular subjects covered by the book, in such form that the laws of the various States may be quickly grasped and compared."

Political Status of Women in the United States. By BERTHA REMBAUGH. New York: G. P. Putnam Sons (1911). $1.00.

A Digest of the laws concerning women in the various States and Territories.

Marriage and Divorce Laws of the World. By HYANCINTHE RINGROSE. New York: The Musson Draper Co. (1911).

Discriminations Against Women in the Laws of New York. (Pamphlet.) By GILBERT Roe. National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. (1915).

Woman Under the Law. By A. L. STINSON. Boston: Hudson Printing Co. (1914). $2.00.

Legal and Political Status of Women in the United States. By JENNIE L. WILSON (LL.B.). Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press (1912). $1.50.

The writer describes one of her objects as being: "That readers in each State may compare the laws of their own State with those of other States, and may then work for the adoption into their own codes of that which is most desirable in others . . . the book is to be recommended both to students of the history of the emancipation of women and also to practical reformers."—"Jus Suffragii," February, 1914.

The Legal Rights and Duties of Women. (Article.) By JENNIE L. WILSON (LL.B.). In Woman Citizen Library, Vol. 8.

WOMEN AND WAR

Women at The Hague. By JANE ADDAMS. New York: Macmillan Co. (1915).

The International Congress of Women and its results, by three delegates to the Congress from the United States, Jane Addams, Emily G. Balch, Alice Hamilton.

Militarism Versus Feminism. London: G. Allen & Unwin.

Demonstrates that militarism involves the subjection of women.

Mothers of Men and Militarism. By MRS. F. S. HALLOWES. London: Headley Bros.

"We recommend this book not only to all the mothers of all the nations, but also to all the people of all the nations, whose business it is to do all in their power to exterminate war. . . . "—"Jus Suffragii," September, 1915.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Woman's Part in Government. By WILLIAM H. ALLEN. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. (1911).

Woman in Modern Society. By EARL BARNES. New York: B. W. Huebsch (1913).

Woman's Work in Municipalities. By MARY RITTER BEARD. New York: D. Appleton & Co. (1915).

"Here is a moving account of the civic enterprise of women in the fields of education, public health, recreation, corrections, housing, safety, civic improvement, government and administration. It reveals their initiative, fearlessness, efficiency and growth of vision."—"Publisher's Note."

"A convincing answer to those who doubt whether women are as yet ready for citizenship."—"The Woman Voter."

American Women in Civic Work. By HELEN CHRISTINE BENNETT. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. (1915). $1.25.

"The personality and work of some foremost American women. Jane Addams, Anna Howard Shaw, Caroline Bartlett Crane, Sophie Wright, Kate Barnard, Ella Flagg Young, Albion Fellows Bacon, Hanna Kent Schoff, Lucretia L. Blankenburg, Frances A. Keller, Julia Tutwiller."

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Women in the Making of America. By ADDINGTON BRUCE. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. (1912).

Woman and Economics. By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son. (1908).

Woman and Social Progress. By SCOTT NEARING and N. M. S. NEARING. New York: Macmillan Co. (1912). $1.50.

In Times Like These. By NELLIE MCCLUNG. New York: D. Appleton & Co. (1916). $1.00.

Woman's Share in Social Culture. By ANNA GARLIN SPENCER. New York: Mitchell Kennerley (1912).

The House on Henry Street. By LILLIAN D. WALD. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (1916). $2.00.

"The social settlement was chiefly an experimental station. But the house Miss Wald and Miss Brewster founded was an experimental station of astonishing service to America."—"The New Republic."

"A record of one of the most hopeful developments in American municipal life."—"The Woman Voter."

The Woman Citizen's Library. Editor, SHALER MATTHEWS, D.D. Chicago: The Civics Society (1913). (12 vols.).

"A systematic course of reading in preparation for the larger citizenship."—"Woman Suffrage," Vol. VII; "Woman and the Law," Vol. VIII; "Woman and the Larger Citizenship," Vols. IX, X, XI.

American Municipal Progress. By CHARLES ZUEBLIN. (New and revised edition.) New York: Macmillan Co. (1916). $2.00.

"It discusses public utilities, public baths and gymnasiums, open-air schools, social centres and milk stations; it treats also of fire prevention, the paving and sanitation of streets, the transformation of municipal courts into institutions for the prevention of crime, the altered idea of the duty of the police and the advent of police women. . . ."

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY.

Report on Conditions of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States. Prepared under the direction of Chas. P. Neil, Commissioner of Labor. (19 vols.) Washington: Government Printing Office (1910).

(New York Public Library.)

Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States. Washington: Government Printing Office, December, 1916.

(United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 175.)

State of New York—Fourth Report of the Factory Investigating Commission, 1915. Albany: J. B. Lyon Co. (Printers).

Child Labor Legislation in the United States. By HELEN L. SUMNER and ELLA A. MERRITT. Washington: Government Printing Office (1915).

(U. S. Department of Labor Children's Bureau. Industrial Series No. 1. Bureau of Publication No. 10.)

National Child Labor Committee Bulletins and Publications. 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

The Relation of Irregular Employment to the Living Wage for Women. (Report.) By IRENE OSGOOD ANDREWS.

Prepared for the New York State Factory Investigating Commission. June, 1915.

Women in Industry. By EDITH ABBOTT, Ph.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. (1909). $2.00.

Mothers Who Must Earn. By KATHARINE ANTHONY. New York: Survey Co. $2.00.

Women and the Trades. By ELIZABETH BUTLER. New York: The Survey Associates. $1.72.

"The first general survey of the women-employing trades of an American city. One of the Pittsburgh Survey volumes."

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What Eight Million Women Want. By RHETA CHILD DORR. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. (1910). $2.00.
"A book of vital interest to women in every phase of industry and of social work at the present time."—"The Woman Voter," February, 1916.

Fatigue and Efficiency. By JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK. New York: Survey Associates. $2.00.

Handbook of Laws Regulating Women's Hours of Labor and a Standard Law. By JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK. (Embodying the best provisions of the most effective statutes now in force.)
Published by the National Consumers' League.

Women in Industry. By B. L. HUTCHINS. London: G. Bell & Sons (1915). 4s. 6d.
"In this book the story of women's industrial employment is traced from the scanty information of mediæval times through the great crisis of the industrial revolution down to modern capitalistic industry."

The Trade Union Woman. By ALICE HENRY. New York: D. Appleton & Co. (1915). $1.50.
"A remarkable book . . . dealing with the history and philosophy of the women's trade union movement in America. . . . The author is well equipped for the task, having been for five years editor of 'Life and Labor' . . . and having studied the question in Australia and England as well as in the United States. The book . . . has a valuable bibliography."—"The Woman's Journal," February 5, 1916.

MARIE L. OBENAUER.
Report: Hours, earnings and conditions of labor of women in Indiana mercantile establishments and garment factories (1914).
(United States Labor Statistics Bureau. Bulletin 160. Women in industry, Series 4.)
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Washington (State). **Report of the Industrial Welfare Commission** on the wages, conditions of work and cost and standard of living of women wage earners in Washington. Prepared by Caroline J. Gleason.

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Brief for the State of Oregon by Louis D. Brandeis, assisted by Josephine Goldmark.

What Uncle Sam Does Not Do for Women in Industry. "The New Republic," July 29, 1916.
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United States Department of Labor—Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 167, Series 8.

Minimum Wage Determinations in Oregon.
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Minimum Wage Legislation. By IRENE OSGOOD ANDREWS. (Publication New York Factory Investigating Commission, 1914.)

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Stetler Case. (Oregon Minimum Wage.) Brief of Brandeis and Goldmark, 1914. (National Consumers' League.)

The Case for the Minimum Wage. (Articles.) By FLORENCE KELLEY and others, "The Survey," Vol. 33: 487–515, February 6, 1915.

Present Status Minimum Wage Legislation. By FLORENCE KELLEY. (National Consumers' League.)

Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 1, January, 1914. Boston.

Effect of Minimum Wage Decree in the Brush Industry in Massachusetts.
Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission, Bulletin No. 7, September, 1915. The following is quoted from the summary on page 14: ". . . the effects of the brush decree upon the industry are found to be as follows: the decree has been complied with in practically every instance. The increase in wages has been large throughout the industry, and at the same time the capital invested in the industry and the value of the product have materially increased. The employment of women and minors has not given way to the employment of men, nor has the minimum wage tended to become the maximum."

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Addenda

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LAWS AFFECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE—HISTORY, ARGUMENTS AND RESULTS

[illegible]

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

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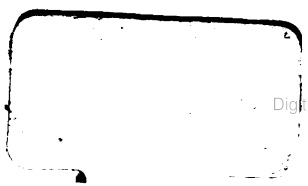

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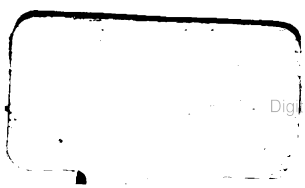

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